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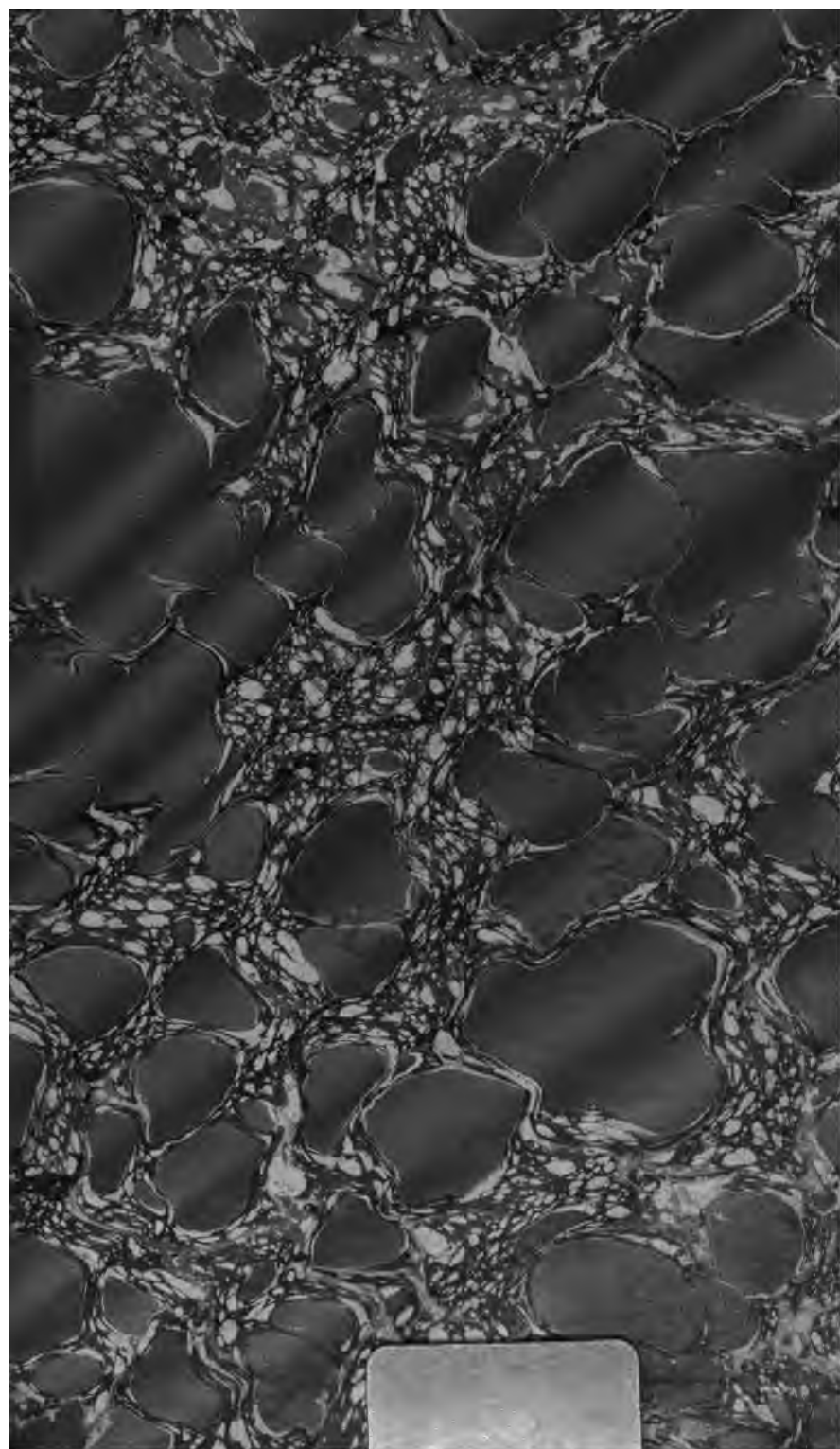
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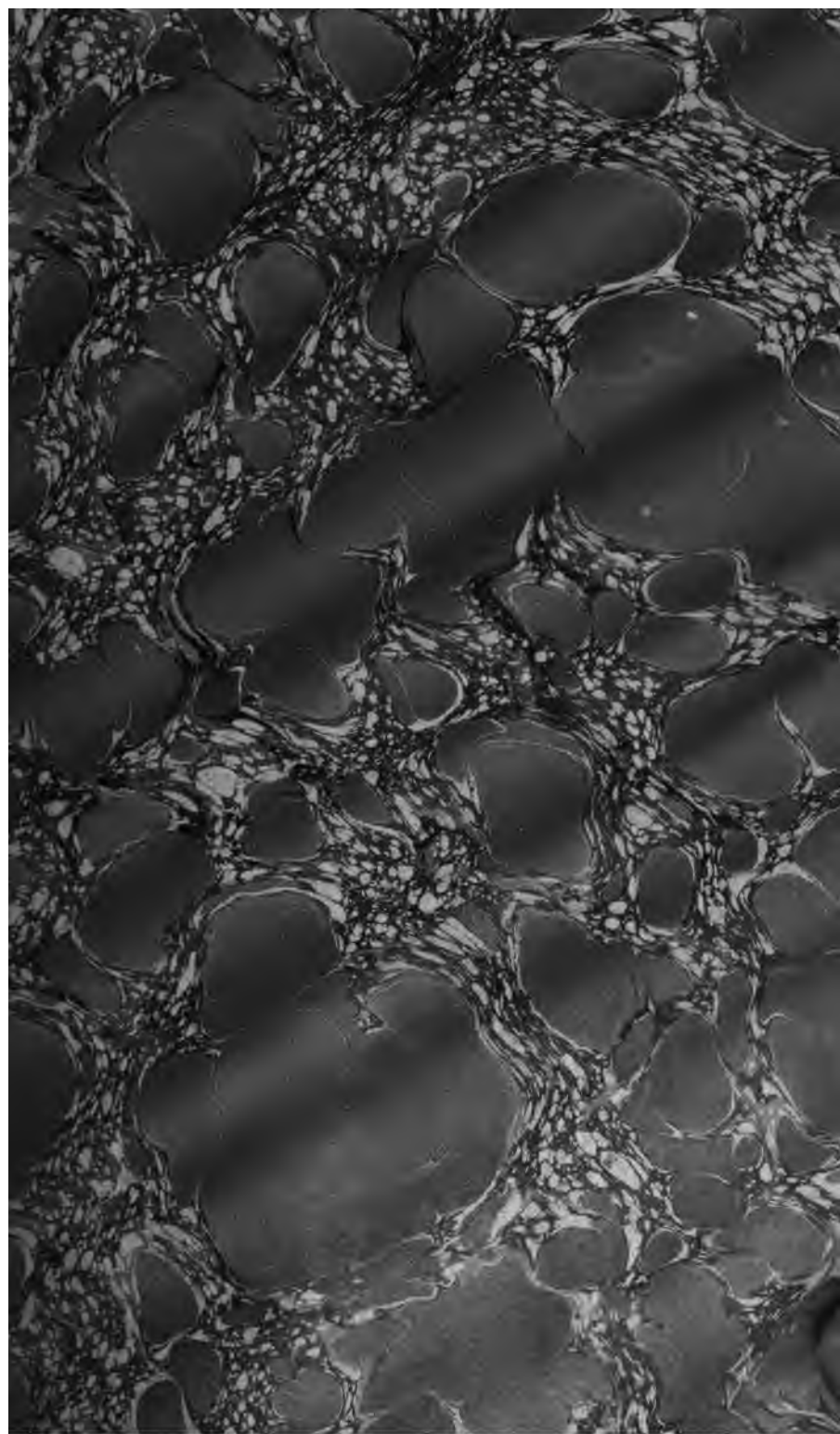
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AN

ARGUMENT FOR IRELAND.

BY

JOHN O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P.

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“Resolved unanimously—That a claim of any body of men, other than the KING, LORDS, and COMMONS OF IRELAND, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.”—*Dungannon Volunteers*, February 15th, 1782.  
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PRINTED BY ORDER OF

THE LOYAL NATIONAL REPEAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.

DUBLIN :

JOHN BROWNE, 36, NASSAU-STREET.

1844.

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 277, 1996, 1031-1035.

John C. McGowan

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PREFACE.

THE present compilation will, I am well aware, be found, on perusal, to betray evident marks of haste and want of sufficient care; but, I trust, not of wilful mistatement, or any important inaccuracy as to facts or principles enunciated.

It has been put together at irregular times, with occasional long intervals, according as the vicissitudes of an active political agitation allowed some comparative leisure to those engaged in it, or required from the humble, as well as from the more able and distinguished of its promoters, an increase of action and attention.

I have been deprived, by a fortuitous circumstance, of the period of general revision, to which I had looked, and on which I had counted, to enable me to correct and amend what may be defective throughout

the work. The circumstance to which I allude is, the necessity of my close and constant attendance (as one of the traversers) from an early hour of every morning to a late hour in the afternoon, upon the present state trials in Ireland.

To delay the appearance of the work for some months longer would have been, in some measure, to defeat its object, which was, to have before the public, from an early period of the approaching parliamentary session, a compilation, as compact as possible, of the leading facts and arguments bearing on the question of the Repeal of the Union.

JOHN O'CONNELL.

*Tuesday, January 16th, 1844,
Court of Queen's Bench.*

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AN ARGUMENT FOR IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE foundation of all society is the yielding up by individuals of a portion of their natural liberties, in order to obtain protection and security for the remainder. As those liberties are the gift of the Deity, it will not be denied that his gracious design in granting them, is best and most reverently followed out where the portion yielded is small and limited in degree. A general test is thus supplied for judging of the respective merits or demerits of the systems of government prevalent in the various societies or nations of the world.

But in the particular application of this test, there are circumstances to be taken into account, which are held to justify the greater amount of restrictions upon natural liberty in some countries than in others. The chief of those circumstances are either where a people are alleged to have used their powers in a manner detrimental to the great community of nations, or where they are said to be incapable of rightly managing their own affairs.

A wide field opens here for abuse ; and accordingly many and flagrant have been the abuses, and the gross and crying injustices, that have been committed under cover of those pleas. The external interference employed to effect a remedy in the first case, has ever been pushed beyond all fair and reasonable limit ; and thus, under pretext of eliminating one evil of doubtful existence, the seed has been sown, recklessly, or with deliberate malignity, of a thou-

sand certain and deadly mischiefs. Nations banded together to repress and punish wanton aggression by an individual member of their great community, have not stayed their hands with the execution of this lawful purpose, but gone on to invade and destroy the innoxious and rightful liberties of the aggressor. And in the case of alleged incapacity of a particular nation to manage their own affairs, the charge has been brought forward with dishonest vagueness, and adjudicated upon with indecent haste, by a party interested, which has then not hesitated to employ force and fraud to carry into effect its own unwarrantable decisions, and to enable it to trample upon the rights and the happiness of the accused.

To examine into each and every instance of these cases, with the view of ascertaining in which of them the principles of justice have been no more than duly and properly acted upon and vindicated, and in which outraged and violated, would be a protracted task, and foreign to our present purpose—the making of this examination and decision in the individual case of Ireland alone.

That the latter country is much restricted in her rights is a position easily proved. No country can be said to enjoy her natural measure of rights, whose people have not a prevailing voice in the passing of the laws which affect them. The Irish people have not that voice; for not only have they been deprived of their own parliament, but the share of representation allotted to them in the imperial parliament is most unjustly small and disproportionate. Out of 658 members of the united legislature, Ireland numbers but 105; and the occasions have not been few, when, in consequence of this disproportion, their voices have been overruled, and their will set at naught—and this too upon questions of extreme importance to Irish interests—by the voices and the will of the overwhelming majority of the members for Great Britain.

The grounds alleged at the Union for this disproportion will be found in the Appendix to this Report, article, No. 1,

which also contains data for its proper adjustment and some details of its injustice, as exemplified on a comparison between parliamentary districts in Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

But in speaking of an adjustment by a new arrangement of proportions in the imperial parliament, we must be understood as speaking of only a temporary expedient, and by no means as recognizing or admitting the soundness of the principle of united legislation. In fact we touch upon the matter at all, only as it helps the better to illustrate the extreme injustice that has been done us in this respect. Were it a topic to be enlarged upon, we should first settle the important question—Would England allow of an alteration in the relative proportions—at least to any extent of importance and value? The strong probability is to the contrary, for whenever such a project has been started, the organs of public opinion in England have loudly and unanimously declared against it. Even the paltry addition of five, given by the reform bill to the Irish representatives, received most strenuous opposition; and when we find (see the article already referred to) that the most humble estimate of justice to Ireland in the matter of parliamentary representation, would require an addition of, at the very least, fifty members, to her present number, (and of course an equivalent subtraction from the English roll,) there scarce can be a doubt but that the proposition of altering in favour of Ireland the existing proportions in the imperial parliament would be rejected at once.

Even did we gain a large concession, yet as upon any proportionate calculation, our number should be in an inferiority to the British, Ireland would still be under grievous disadvantage, as upon any international question, her will could be coerced, and her interests jeopardied, or totally sacrificed. Thus the grand defect in the system of united legislation would, upon all questions of magnitude, demonstrate itself as flagrant and mischievous as ever.

The parliamentary representation of Ireland being thus

indisputably defective, does any reason exist why it should be so? Do either of the cases which are held to justify the modified application of the test we have specified, exist with regard to Ireland? Did she use her powers in a manner detrimental to the great community of nations? Or had she shewn any incapacity of rightly managing her own affairs.

That her legislative independence was an injury to foreign nations need not be discussed, as it never has for a moment been pretended. Many, however, assert that it was of injury to England and to the empire, for which opinion they assign the following pretexts—first, that it prevented a unity of action with England; second, that it left a door open to foreign intrigue and domestic confusion; and third, that it unjustly exempted Ireland from her proper share of the burthens of the empire. We proceed to examine these pretexts in their order.

The only established fact that has been put forward in support of the first of them is, that the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland differed in the year 1789 upon the subject of the Regency, then under discussion, in consequence of the first and temporary alienation of mind of George the Third. A succinct account of this difference will be found in article No. 2 of the Appendix, and therefore nothing further need be said here on the subject, save that it is now generally allowed that the Irish Parliament took the more constitutional view of the question. Its recurrence, in the event of a restoration of the Irish Parliament, would be provided against by the consent that Ireland would be found ready to agree to an arrangement that should leave the selection of a Regent solely to the British Parliament. This she might do with great advantage from the obviating of a source of jealousy, dissensions, and confusion, and with no real constitutional disadvantage; inasmuch as the control over the finances of their country would still be with the Irish representatives, and consequently the means in their hands which the con-

stitution has provided for holding despotism in check, and carrying into effect the will of the people, even where directly in opposition to that of their ruler.

With regard to any other differences that may be alleged, either to have occurred, or to have been inevitable, had the parliaments continued separate, our answer is short. The mere fact of their occurrence, cannot be considered abstractedly from the question as to which parliament was right and which parliament was wrong in the matter of dispute. England had in 1782, by the repeal of the 6th Geo. I., (the act which declared the power of her laws to bind Ireland,) and still more by a statute of the next year, 1783, (23 Geo. III., c. 28,) coupled with the declaration of her minister Mr. Fox, in the former year, assented to by the parliament he addressed, acknowledged the right of Ireland to independent legislation; and therefore, of course, her right to adopt whatever measures of policy she chose, irrespective of what might be the opinions of other parts of the empire. The only pretence of differences, other than treated of in the last paragraph, is as to commercial arrangements. That the countries did not pull together on this subject is certain—at least from the year 1785 out. But with whom was the fault? England, according to Mr. Pitt, in 1785, (when moving the celebrated “*Commercial Propositions*” of that year, for an account of which, see Appendix No. 4,) wanted to “resume the *ignorant and unsystematic* concessions she had made to Ireland in 1799–80, when the pressure of adverse external circumstances (see the same Appendix) forced the British parliament to do away with the greater part of the then existing most cruel restrictions on the trade of Ireland, and to allow her freedom of foreign and colonial trade. It was to the latter that Mr. Pitt particularly referred, as he declared at the same time that foreign trade was the “natural right of Ireland,” and “no favour or concession.” In this declaration he only confirmed the words of Lord North, when minister, in

Difference between the parliaments to be considered on their merits.

Those differences were as to commercial arrangements.

England sought in 1785 to limit the confessed rights of Ireland in these particulars.

December, 1779. But though he *appeared* to limit his aim to recovery of control of the *colonial* trade, an examination of the tendency of the "propositions" above alluded to, will shew, that in reality he sought again to hamper *all* the trade of Ireland; and make her subservient in this respect to the will and supposed interests of her jealous neighbour. This was plainly an improper object, and Ireland was in the right in resisting and defeating it.

Not even with regard to the colonial trade was his conduct justifiable. Ireland had contributed with blood and treasure to the acquisition of the British colonies, and for upwards of twenty years previous to 1779 had supplied, and in every way maintained, a large military contingent for their protection. And she had done this while utterly denied all commerce with them; and therefore, of course, all benefit from their annexation to the empire. And when in 1780 she was allowed trade with them, she most dearly paid for the concession, *by giving their products the monopoly of her market, when she could have cheaper supplied herself from foreign colonies.*

In short, unless the monstrous proposition can be sustained, that the rightful exercise of rightful liberties by one nation is an injury to another, no case can be made against Ireland from anything that occurred in the period 1780—1800. At a future stage, we shall consider the question of possible international differences *after Repeal.*

Second
pretext:
liability to
foreign
invasion
and do-
mestic re-
bellion.

The next pretext we have now to notice is, that the legislative independence of Ireland left a door open to foreign intrigue and domestic confusion.

Generalities, when resorted to in advocacy of liberal principles, are usually met with derision and disregard by the opponents of those principles. But the very men who slight them when so employed, will be found to have resort to the vaguest general assertions themselves, when advocating measures of their own. Few assertions can be more vague, and none less supported by facts, than that embodied in the pretext we are noticing; yet not only when origi-

nally invented, was it made much and eager use of, but even at the present day it is a favourite with those who seek to wrest and pervert the history of the past into an argument against the projects of the future. It was particularly employed during the debates on the Union, when, with impudent and reckless disregard of facts, it was flung in the teeth of the defenders of the Irish parliament,—a parliament whose fault certainly was not a want of will and effort—and most successful effort—to repel foreign invasion and crush domestic rebellion. Had the government been as true to its duty in these points as was the Irish parliament, the rebellion would never have occurred: the rebellion having been, as is now established beyond controversy (see Appendix, No. 5), fomented by the government for the purpose of creating a favourable state of things for compelling Ireland to a legislative union. It is now clearly established that that rebellion was suffered to go on, growing and gathering, for fully eleven months after clear and positive intelligence had been given to the authorities of its existence; and of the names, intention, and actions of the chief persons who were engaged in it. The parliament of Ireland spared no effort to crush it when known; and hesitated at no expense, as the votes of the day, and the enormous public expenditure during the last few years of that parliament, can abundantly testify; and the results were, as we have said, the repulsion of foreign invasion, and, despite the most criminal tardiness of the executive, the complete putting down of rebellion at home. These results were never disputed, as they never could be; neither was any specific reason attempted to be assigned, why the recurrence of external or domestic disturbances could be rendered less likely by abolishing a body, who, living in Ireland, knew the country, and were upon the spot, ready and prompt to crush those disturbances again as they did before, and substituting for them a parliament composed, for upwards of five-sixths of the whole, of per-

Irish parliament repelled the one, and crushed the other,

sons totally ignorant of Ireland, and dwelling and legislating hundreds of miles from her shores.

Third
pretext :
Ireland
unduly
exempted
from pub-
lic bur-
thens.

Passing this most frivolous of the many frivolous and flimsy arguments against Irish independence, we address ourselves to the last of the three special pretexts, of the incompatibility of the latter with the interests of England and of the empire. This pretext is, that under her own parliament Ireland was saved exempt from a due share of the general burthens.

Unfound-
ed.

There is, to an Irishman, a *prima facie* recommendation of the state of things prior to the Union, in this confession of the comparative light pressure upon Ireland, of the imperial burthens under that régime. Yet Irishmen will not be found to be so unfair as to stand up for an undue exemption at any time. But the fact is, that so far from her financial exertions having been too limited, she actually crippled herself by her efforts to be of assistance to England. Her debt which, like to that of England, originated in the reign of William the Third, was no more than £16,000 in the year 1715; by the year 1721 it had increased to £77,260, in consequence, as will be seen on reference to the official records of the time, of the exertions of her parliament to strengthen the hands of the monarch in the unsettled times, after the first Scottish insurrection in favour of the exiled Stuarts. This amount, small as it would now be considered, or might even then be, to a rich country, yet was of such importance and magnitude to Ireland, as to be noticed with grave anxiety by the then Viceroy, the Duke of Bolton, in his speech from the throne. Its importance proceeded from the impoverished condition of the country, the resources of which had been wasted by the violence of the civil convulsions which had so rapidly succeeded each other in the preceding century. The country had been placed almost beyond the possibility of recovery from their effect, by the tyrannically unjust commercial restrictions which marked the reigns of Charles

She con-
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her na-
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in assist-
ing Eng-
land,
whose po-
licy had
impover-
ished and
crippled
her.

the Second and William the Third. We have again to refer the reader to article No 4, for particulars, not only as to the enactment of those restrictions, but as to their operation for evil of themselves, and with the concurring evil influence upon the springs of industry, of the penal laws.

The ruinous agencies we have there set forth as tending to crush Irish manufactures, continued their disastrous operation uninterruptedly, and the consequence was, the continually increasing impoverishment of Ireland. Successive parliaments and successive viceroys iterated and reiterated complaints of this poverty during the forty succeeding years. And yet, so great was the anxiety to assist England, that we find the Irish parliament about the year 1759 passing two votes, one of £150,000, and the other of £300,000 for that purpose—the greater part of the money expended too in increasing the Irish military contingent to the British forces serving abroad! In 1761 they voted a further sum for the latter purpose, to the amount of £200,000. And the importance of these efforts cannot fully be estimated, without the fact being stated, that whereas the economy of the Irish parliament had enabled them to clear off the debt of Ireland by the year 1754, the liberality of their subsidies to England created a new debt, that by the year 1763 amounted to half a million, and eight years later was further increased to nearly £800,000! (see Commons Journals.) Nay, at the period last mentioned, viz., the year 1771, the Irish parliament were so complaisant, as not only to vote an enormous loan, but to pass an act, giving the King the power of alienating the hereditary revenue of Ireland.

It is to be repeated again and again, that these efforts are not to be judged of by the mere abstract amount of the monies they extracted from Ireland; or by a naked comparison with the efforts of a country so abounding in wealth as England. The poverty of Ireland is ever to be

Continued wretchedness of Ireland under this policy.

Yet she strained herself to the utmost to assist England.

Her efforts were great, when her wretchedness is considered.

borne in mind,* and the consequent disproportionate importance of such sums to her. In addition to the cruel depressions occasioned by her unjust restriction in commerce and manufactures, and the blighting influence upon the industry of the country, of the penal laws, which shut out the majority of the people from profitable enterprise and employment, there was a further cause of exhaustion and misery in the unchecked, or rather accelerated progress of absenteeism. To the fatal drain caused by this old monster-evil of Ireland, no stop could be given, so long as the thralldom of the Irish parliament left that sense of provincial degradation, from which the aristocracy of a country are ever glad to fly.

How she acted when her condition was bettered.

We now come to the period when Ireland was relieved from some of the oppression practised upon her, and obtaining the power of free self-legislation, may be considered more justly accountable, if her efforts to share the imperial burthens shall not appear to have been of due magnitude. The period of which we would speak is, that from 1782 to the accomplishment of the Union.

That the newly emancipated parliament did not even let its first session of complete liberty pass over without making an effort, may be gathered from the speech with which the lord lieutenant of the day, the Duke of Portland, closed the eventful session of that year. He spoke as follows :—

Government acknowledgedgments at various times between 1782 and 1800, of the efforts and generosity of Ireland.

“Gentlemen of the House of Commons—when I consider the very active and *liberal* part you have taken in contributing to these glorious events (alluding to the military events of the year), I must as distinctly express to you his majesty’s sense of the *last* effusion of your **GENE-ROSITY** for the defence of the empire, as I must return to you his *most gracious thanks* for the *supplies* which you *so cheerfully voted at the beginning of the session.*”

* In the article No. 4 of the Appendix, on “*Commercial Injustices*,” will be found several testimonies as to the poverty of Ireland before 1780, and its causes.

Thus, not only were the ordinary government supplies voted "*cheerfully*," but the throne acknowledged a "*generosity*" of further assistance to the imperial exchequer. In the next year, 1783, and in a new parliament, a motion for a reduction of the peace establishment of the army was rejected by a large majority, notwithstanding that it was supported by the recommendations of a committee that had sat some years before, and by the arguments from Flood and others, to the effect that the debt had been constantly increasing since the augmentation of the army in 1762, at the rate of £100,000 per annum—that a country like Ireland, "whose circulating cash was but one million and a half, could not bear such a military establishment"—that "by frugality, we might be able to assist England in the hour of distress," &c. &c. In 1784, parliament was again thanked from the throne for the "*cheerfulness*" with which they had made provision for "the exigencies and honor of his Majesty's government." The viceroy's speech at the conclusion of the next session, 1785, thanked the Commons "in his Majesty's name for their *liberal provision for the public service, honorable support of his government, and generous contribution of supplies.*" In this session they had voted new taxes to the amount of £140,000, in order to make the annual revenue of the country cover its expenditure, which, for twenty-five or twenty-six years before it had constantly failed to do; and in the succeeding session continued the same taxes for the same purpose and with perfect success. In this manner the Irish parliament continued to earn and receive the royal thanks for their "*liberality*" and "*generosity*" during the remaining years of peace; and the following short statement, in figures, of the respective increase of the British and Irish debts from the commencement of the last French war, to the Union, will shew that, in fact, Ireland made *greater* efforts, proportionably speaking, than Great Britain, towards the support of the government and the defence of the empire.

Her efforts in time of war.

AN ARGUMENT FOR IRELAND.

Funded and Unfunded Debts, unredeemed, of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, in each of the years from 1791 to 1801.

YEARS.	GREAT BRITAIN.	IRELAND.
1792.....	£241,811,668.....	£2,252,667
1793.....	249,114,516.....	2,874,267
1794.....	263,632,894.....	4,002,451
1795.....	321,256,823.....	5,577,098
1796.....	364,581,572.....	6,537,467
1797.....	388,916,734.....	10,134,674
1798.....	416,799,075.....	15,806,723
1799.....	424,519,343.....	23,100,785
1800.....	450,504,984.....	28,541,157

(Accounts in Appendix, from No. 1 to No. 12, Par. Paper, 35 of 1819.)

Now, if it be borne in mind that, until a few years before the commencement of the period 1780—1800, the Irish debt had never amounted to *one* million, it will be at once seen how very great were the exertions of Ireland while legislatively independent.

Taking her prosperity during that period to have been all that it is said (with good reason) to have been, her exertions must have been enormous, to have incurred such a debt *notwithstanding* such prosperity. *Supposing, for a moment, as the unionists contend, that she was not by any means so prosperous, then her good will and anxiety to assist England, become still more apparent and conspicuous.*

As, therefore, the assertion of Ireland's undue exemption from public burthens before the Union cannot be maintained, the last of the three pretexts is disposed of, on which the opponents of the legislative independence of Ireland attempt to ground the assertion of injury to even *one* other nation from that independence. Consequently, the first of the two cases laid down by us in the commencement, as being generally held to justify greater restrictions

of natural right in one country than in another, cannot be said to exist with regard to Ireland. It remains to be considered, whether the second of these cases does or does not exist; namely, whether her history, while in the enjoyment of legislative independence, can be said to afford proofs that she was incapable of rightly managing her own affairs.

no injury to England.

Next point : Did Ireland shew unfitness for self-management ?

One class of arguments much used by the assertors of this incapacity, are deduced from the profligate jobbing, and the cruel religious persecution, of which, undoubtedly, the Irish parliament was guilty. The answer is so plain and palpable, that it needs but to be stated, without delaying for comment or protracted consideration. Of religious persecution the English parliament was, at least, equally guilty; and if it were less given to profligacy and "jobbing"—(a matter by no means to be taken upon credit; but the examination of which is not needed to strengthen our answer)—this is to be remembered, that in Ireland the parliament was not that *of the nation*, but of a party—of a sect, and yet not of the entire even of that sect: its constituencies being most limited; and no less than 216 out of the 300 members of the commons, being, in fact, what is called "*nomination-members*."

If Irish parliament persecuting and profligate, was that of England better ?

It has been too much the fashion, we must here remark incidentally, to decry the parliaments that existed in Ireland before the Union. We have already said that their bad deeds are indisputable, and in no way do we seek to palliate them. But with all their faults, their conduct on many occasions was such as would have done credit to the legislature of any country—and this was when they acted of themselves; while on the occasions when they acted badly, the crime was generally at the suggestion of England and for English purposes. To please England an Irish parliament consented to the annihilation of the Irish woollen trade in 1699. To serve England, successive Irish parliaments loaded their country with debt. It is, at the least, ungrateful in Englishmen to make this very

The worst deeds of the Irish parliament were under English influences.

subserviency an argument and a reason for denouncing those who were guilty of it.

Its good
deeds its
own.

In article No. 3, of the Appendix, are recorded several good deeds of Irish parliaments, which assuredly ought to be taken some note of, when its evil deeds have been so sedulously

“ Learned and conned by rote,

To cast into our teeth !”

Various
instances
of its self-
assertion.

A very short summary is all that need be given here. They showed their care of the public purse, and desire of preserving, at least, some principles of the constitution in Ireland, by rejecting money-bills in 1690, 1709, and 1769, either because of not having originated with themselves, or of alterations made in the English privy council—by defeating, in 1729, an audacious attempt of the government to get the supplies for several years to come included in one vote, and by resisting even the crown itself, in its attempt in 1751-53 to assert a right of control over surplus monies then in the treasury. By the judicious management of the parliament, the debt of the nation was paid off by the year 1754, and a further surplus having occurred, they set about the distribution and allocation of it with a haste prompted and stimulated by their dread of a renewed attempt on the part of the crown to control them in those respects.

Excuses
for defec-
tive policy
in some
instances.

We are not going to defend every item of application then and subsequently voted, but the great majority of them were for purposes of internal improvement—opening up the resources of Ireland, employing the people, &c. &c.; and if they were often ill-considered, the fault is mainly with the government, whose rapacity was dreaded, and with the ideas of the age, which were by no means advanced on the subject of political economy.

If ever there was a country in which legislative interference to assist industry was required, that country was Ireland—where there had been so much legislative inter-

ference to cripple and impede it. England herself had hedged round her industrial interests with various protective and fostering enactments; several of them grievously interfering with Irish interests; and the depressed and miserable condition of the latter seemed to demand the utmost efforts in a similar direction, that the limited power of the Irish legislature would allow them to make.

In 1703, and again in 1719, the latter body protested against and sought to resist grievously unjust encroachments upon their authority and power, made by the legislature of Great Britain. In 1767, the Irish parliament passed a septennial bill, thereby voluntarily subjecting themselves to their constitutional responsibility to the people, at certain and definite periods, instead of as under the previous system, when the exercise of the electoral right depended upon the death of the monarch, if it were not his will during life to give the people that advantage. The English privy council, true to their unvarying policy of throwing every obstacle in the way of Irish rights, altered the provisions of the bill, substituting the term of eight for that of seven years; in the unworthy hope, that as their assumed power of alteration had been so disputed and denied in Ireland, the measure in its new state might be dropped there. But rather than lose even a qualified benefit to their country, the Irish parliament took no notice of the affront to themselves, and passed the bill such as it was.

Unquestionable good conduct in others.

The manner in which they compelled the concession of commercial liberty in 1780, and of legislative independence in 1782, is abundantly detailed in articles before referred to in the appendix. If afterwards they basely surrendered that independence to England, it was under the pressure of a system of intimidation and corruption without parallel, and quite as great a disgrace to the British legislature that sanctioned and encouraged it, as to the Irish legislature that sank under it.

If base in 1800, so was the English parliament.

In matters of religion, if the Irish parliament acted

Catholic Emancipation stopped by the Union, till forced from England in 1829.

harshly and cruelly in the earlier and middle parts of the last century, so did the British, and towards the end of the century the former set eagerly about repairing the evil, having in twenty years, up to 1794, passed no less than four important enactments for removing religious disabilities.* They would have proceeded to remove the whole, but for the confusion and distraction of the rebellion fomented by the government for the purpose of stopping these and other efforts of the Irish parliament to benefit their country. The Union was then carried with a promise to the Catholics that the progressive benevolence of the Irish parliament towards them should be surpassed by the immediate and entire concession in their favor by the imperial parliament. Twenty-nine long years elapsed ere the promise was redeemed, and then only under the compulsion of an impending civil war.

Other evidences of attention to Irish interests by the Irish parliament.

Immediately after the achievement of legislative independence in 1782, the Irish parliament passed a bill giving Ireland the benefit, by express statute, of the English habeas corpus act, and another repealing the unconstitutional perpetual mutiny bill. In 1785 they were deluded and cajoled into accepting Orde's celebrated "commercial resolutions," but by so small a majority that the government had to give the matter up. From that time until the Irish parliament ceased to exist in 1800, if they displayed corruption and baseness at times, particularly in the last few years of their existence, the records of their legislation are not, however, deficient in evidences of frequent attention to at least the manufacturing interests of their country.

What might not have been done by a

If this wretched parliament of a small section of the people did yet shew itself so frequently worthy of being entrusted with the business of legislation, what would not

* The dates were respectively 1778, 1782, 1792, and 1793. The concessions progressively given, were of the rights of property, freedom of education, and of religious observances, admission to the professions and corporations, and, in short, of nearly everything, save admission to parliament.

have been done by a body representing and really responsible to the entire people. The nation that made so majestic a movement as the splendid simultaneous rising in arms of the Volunteer army in Ireland, in 1779, to defend their native land from invasion, and preserve her to the British crown, could not fail to have delegated worthy representatives of their patriotism and magnanimity, had the right of constitutional election been as free to them as they merited. And majestic as was this movement, it was even surpassed in splendour and true dignity by the conduct of the Irish people after their triumph in 1782—the moral greatness evidenced by the moderation and temper with which they bore that triumph. The immortal Grattan thus speaks of it: (Vol. 2. of his life by his son.)

“There are two days in the Irish history that I can never forget—the one, that in which we gained our freedom. How great the triumph! how *moderate*! how well it was borne—with *what dignity*, and with *what absence of vulgar triumph*! The other was the day we lost our parliament. *It was a savage act, done by a set of assassins who were brought into the House to sell the country and themselves: they did not belong to Ireland: some were soldiers, all were slaves! Everything was shame and hurry, and base triumph!*”

Mr. Grattan on the conduct of the people.

It has been, perhaps, too great a concession on our parts, to condescend to consider at all the insulting objection as to Ireland's incapacity for self-government. Yet we do not regret the time we have given to it, as thus an opportunity has been afforded of summing up the good deeds of the certainly defective, and occasionally very corrupt—but still more *calumniated*, parliament of Ireland.

Unable, thus, to find in the history of the past any justification for Ireland's deprivation of her legislature, the next question is, whether there be any compensating advantages in the existing state of things. This is matter for another chapter.

Incapacity not proved against Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

If Union
good for
Ireland,
where are
its good
results?

If the existing system by which the laws that bind Ireland are made by a parliament sitting in another country, and so little representing her, be the best, its benefits should assuredly be obvious; or, at any rate, not difficult to be shown and proved. Has the commerce of Ireland flourished under this system? Have her manufactures spread and increased? Is capital abundant? Are public burthens comparatively lighter than before the Union? What is the condition of the people?

Reference
to article
No. 4 in
Appendix,
viz.,
"Commercial
Injustices."

Commerce
and man-
ufactures de-
clined.

The two first of our queries will be found most sufficiently and irrefutably answered in the negative, in the Addenda to article No. 4, of the Appendix. There it is shown, on the indisputable authority of figures, from documents authenticated by the opponents of Repeal themselves, that commerce and manufactures have much and seriously declined. The only asserted prosperity is that of the linen-trade, and its condition in Belfast is the only case cited. Were the assertion perfectly established, there still would be little thereby proven for the general and greater prosperity of Ireland since the Union. The trade prospered before that measure. If it have in any degree bettered itself since, is nothing to be allowed for the number of years that have since elapsed? True, it is attempted to be maintained, that had not the Union occurred the two parliaments would have so differed in their views of commercial policy, as in all probability to lead to a system of mutual prohibitions, and that thus we should lose our best customers, the English, for our linens. The simple answer to this is, that England has taken our linens because they suited her in quality and price, better than she could provide herself elsewhere. Any person who will read the historical facts detailed in the article on "Commercial Injustices," already referred to in the Appendix, will be slow to believe that England would do towards us what no

country ever yet did towards another, namely, make us a compliment of her custom to her own prejudice and injury.

Even from the mouths of Unionists our miserable deficiency as to capital may be gathered. Their commonest outcry against constitutional agitation in Ireland is, that it prevents what Ireland so much wants, according to them, namely, British capital, from entering the country and giving employment to the people. Want of capital.

According to the evidence given before the Committee on Exchanges in 1804, the absentee-drain from Ireland was then no more than two millions; it is now generally admitted to be about four millions, and by many rated higher. This drain of capital then has much increased since the Union. At present too there is a revenue drain of between a million and a million and a half. This goes to England, and is there applied by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer according to his discretion. Before the Union the government establishments in Ireland required the greater part of our revenue, and the remainder was subject to the control and disposition of the Irish parliament. On these items and that of the money sent to purchase British manufactures in articles we used to manufacture at home, there cannot be a less amount of drain from Ireland at present than from eight to nine millions, one-half of which drain did not exist in 1799. Drains of money from Ireland.

To the appendix we again refer for a full answer to the query respecting the comparative state of our public burthens before and since the Union. The article on the Taxation Injustice, will be found to give that answer. We may content ourselves here with stating, that whereas, by the report of the Finance Committee of 1815, the Irish taxation is declared to have increased from 1801, in the proportion of 23 to 10, while the British only as 21½ to 10, the remission of taxation since then (viz., since 1814–15) has been, according to parliamentary paper 573 of 1843, £45,549,683 for Great Britain, and only £2,416,981 for Ireland; or, in the Great increase of public burthens since the Union. (Appendix, No. 6.)

proportion of nearly nineteen parts for the former, to one for the latter!

Mortgage
of Ireland
for Eng-
land's
debt.

Our prospective state is still worse—for whereas before the Union we were liable only for our own debt of twenty-three millions at the utmost, and any surplus which should remain after defraying the charge on that and other public charges, might be applied to the reducing of our burthens; the case now is, that if our revenue were to increase a thousandfold, our having been made liable equally with England for the whole of her enormous debt of between seven and eight hundred millions, would prevent us from receiving the benefit of one shilling in the way of reduction of taxation; unless indeed, Great Britain should choose to relieve herself; when she would do so with our money, and, as we have seen before, in a proportion far exceeding that in which she would relieve us!

State of
the peo-
ple.

The next query which we have enunciated at the beginning of this chapter is: What is the condition of the people of Ireland?

Two mil-
lions of
paupers in
Ireland.

To this let the report of the Poor Law Commission give an all-sufficient answer. There are two millions of paupers in a population of not eight millions and a half! Nothing that existed before the Union could be worse than this.

Forty-three years of the operation of a statute asserted to have worked extraordinary benefits to Ireland, and at the end of them one-fourth of the people of Ireland paupers!—One man in every four a beggar!

Asserted
benefits of
a general
nature.

But it is said, that passing the economic view of the question, the people have been benefitted, as they have got catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and municipal reform.

Would
not such
measures
have been
passed by
an Irish
Parlia-
ment?

The question we have already started, namely, what may be the grounds for supposing that the Irish parliament would not have enacted those measures, had it continued, must first be settled, ere we attribute them to the influence of the Union. In our appendix, in the article No. 3, treating of Irish parliaments, no less than four steps

towards the entire enfranchisement of Catholics are shewn to have occurred within twenty years up to and including 1793. But for the madness of the United Irishmen, this among other beneficial measures would have gone on to consummation; but the secret conspirings, and at length, the wild and mad outburst of rebellion of which these parties were guilty, baffled the fortunes of Ireland, and gave a fearful advantage to her unscrupulous enemies, not only to stop the career of good legislation, but to trample upon the hopes as well as the rights of the Irish people, and give what almost seemed a security of permanency to their tyrannous dominion over that people, by the destruction of the Irish parliament, and the subjection of Ireland, absolutely and unlimitedly, to the will and pleasure of a legislature of strangers.

For the monstrous inequalities and injustices that marked our "reform bill," as compared with the measure of reform conceded to Great Britain in 1832, we refer to the 1st article in the Appendix. They are beginning now to be so generally, nay, universally admitted, that it would be a waste of time to repeat here the facts that will be found in the reference we have just given.

Municipal reform has been indeed given us, but in what manner and degree? England and Scotland had it for years before us, and our petitions on the subject were contemptuously rejected. At length, as a bone would be thrown to a dog, a scanty and insultingly limited measure was, as it were, flung to us.

Great defects and injustices in the measures of parliamentary and municipal reform that have been flung to us.

In England the simple fact of being rated to the poor and borough rate, were it only at one shilling, constitutes a man a burgess. In Ireland he must be rated at ten pounds a year, under a valuation known to be considerably lower than the real value; the consequence of which is, that in Dublin, for instance, a man must occupy a tenement worth nearly twenty pounds a year, to be entitled to be a burgess.

In Liverpool or Bristol one tax is all that is needed to

be paid to ensure the municipal franchise. In Ireland all local taxes must be paid, in no case less than *nine* in any ward in Dublin, and in some exceeding that amount. Again, the English municipalities retain the right of naming to the important office of the shrievalty in their respective localities. This is denied to the Irish, the appointment being vested in the government.

Yet we do not owe these measures to British good will, but to agitation.

These three measures—namely, catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and municipal reform, limited and insultingly restricted as the two latter are, and practically neutralized as the former has been, by the exclusion of Catholics from all but a very few places of honor and emolument, were yet not free and voluntary *grants* from the Imperial Parliament, but confessedly and indisputably wrung from that parliament by *agitation*. *If, then, Ireland with so small an influence over legislation as her one hundred members, sitting in another country with 553 strangers, was yet able to compel some measures of good, however defective, what would she not have been able to accomplish and obtain from a parliament sitting at home, all composed of Irishmen, and girt round by Irish influences?*

Poor laws.

The only other measure of importance—and it certainly is one of awful importance—enacted for Ireland since the Union, is that of Poor Laws. In the present state of that measure—the bankruptcy of boards of guardians—the impossibility of collecting the rate without bloodshed—the deep indignation and execration of the people at the conduct of the poor law officials—and the redundancy of beggars even where the workhouses are overflowing, not even the most hardy unionist will make much boast of on this score. Opinions differ in Ireland as to the adviseability of *any* poor laws; and one of the first and most important discussions of an Irish parliament would inevitably be upon that question. We are not now called upon to discuss it, but there is no assertion of ours that we have stronger grounds for making, or on which we so little dread contradiction, than that this discussion would have been twenty

If good, an Irish parliament would long ago have adopted them.

or thirty years ago entered upon in parliament at home, the public mind in Ireland having, for at least that period, been occupied with the subject, while no attention was given to it in the British parliament until within the last ten years.

Had we had a domestic legislature during at least the period last-mentioned, it is impossible but that the monstrous "church grievance" should have been abated in Ireland. The commissioners of public instruction reported in the year 1834, that there were but 800,000 episcopalian Protestants in Ireland. It is well known that this account was at any rate not *under-stated*, and that it included every man, woman, and child that could by any possibility be put in the episcopalian ranks. Yet these 800,000 (diminished now in number, as is generally believed) have a church establishment magnificently provided for, at the expense of six millions and upwards of Catholics! So monstrous an injustice could not have endured a year had the Irish people had a reformed parliament at home.

Article No. 7, in the Appendix, deals with some of the details of this monstrous grievance.

At the moment we are writing, the press of England, without distinction of party, is confessing that "something must be done for Ireland, to make the people attached to the Union!" This confession, wrung from them by their alarms at the political agitation at present so extensive in this country, does, of itself, establish a case against the measure in question. Unfortunately for its defenders, the people of Ireland will trust no longer to words and promises. In 1834, the King, Lords, and Commons, united in a solemn declaration to Ireland, that, while they never would consent to Repeal, they would redress her grievances, and do for her all that she required, short of giving her back the power of making her own laws. The leader of the repeal agitation felt, that after so solemn a declaration from the higher powers in the state, a refusal to give them the opportunity of redeeming their promises, would here-

The Church Temporalities grievance.

Confessions of the English press as to the non-efficacy of the Union for good.

Promises not to be depended upon.

after enable them to charge on the Irish people themselves, the disappointment of the hopes and the non-alleviation of the miseries of these latter. He abated the agitation—the people acquiesced in the experiment—six long years were given for the redemption of these solemn engagements, and six long years definitively proved that they were made in fraud and deceit, and that the people of Ireland had no hope save in their own exertions.

Neither facts then nor promises can palliate the evils of the Union.

There are then neither facts on which to rest a belief that our deprivation of the power of managing our own affairs has been palliated by any benefits resulting from the Union; nor are there promises on which trust or hope can be placed for the future. The only consideration then which could remain to delay us from demanding our legislative independence would be, if there were truth in the assertions of our opponents, that whatever evils we may suffer from the Union, worse would result from its Repeal. We shall consider this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Usual objections made to Irish legislative independence.

Catholic ascendancy.

In considering the objections commonly urged to the restoration of her parliament to Ireland, we shall take those of least plausibility first; accordingly, we take the assertion, that the Repeal would lead to Catholic ascendancy.

There is a guarantee given against this by all the declarations and acts of the Catholics of Ireland. Petitions, addresses, declarations, resolutions, speeches, every conceivable vehicle of human thought and human purpose, that have been adopted by even a section of that body, have uniformly, where at all referring to religious matters, declared our desire and demand for that entire liberty of conscience, which consists not merely in the permission to each man to worship his God in the face of day in the manner that he thinks best, or in opening the way to pub-

lic station and employment, but in the entire abolition of all manner of compulsory payments by the members of one form of Christianity to the pastors, teachers, and support of any other. The Catholic prelates and clergy of the second order in Ireland, have availed themselves of every opportunity to record their coincidence in these sentiments with the laity of their communion, and have continually added a declaration that they would not consent to be connected with the state. History is much too replete with instances of the evils that such connexion occasioned to the catholic church, to make us desire to see the cause of those evils brought into activity again. WE, CATHOLICS, ARE BOUND THEN BY OUR CONVICTIONS, WE ARE BOUND BY OUR MOST SOLEMN AND THOUSAND-FOLD REPEATED DECLARATIONS, NEVER TO SEEK FOR RELIGIOUS ASCENDANCY, AND NEVER TO ACCEPT IT WERE IT EVEN OFFERED; AND WE SHOULD BE UTTERLY FAITHLESS, AND FOR EVER DISGRACED, IF WE EVER SHRUNK FROM THE STRICTEST INTERPRETATION OF THOSE ENGAGEMENTS.

The Protestants of Ireland would have the additional guarantee of a nearly altogether protestant house of lords, and of the influence of the immense proportion of territorial influence which is in the hands of the members of that creed.

They would further have the guarantee of what takes place in catholic countries abroad. In all of them indeed, the catholic religion is the religion of the state, but has been made so by no new enactment, being a matter of old institution. But in none of them is there any species of political exclusion whatsoever on account of difference of faith; and if the protestant inhabitants have to pay towards catholic purposes, inasmuch as a portion of the produce of the general taxes in those countries is devoted to such purposes by the government, they have at least the comfort of knowing that their catholic neighbour, enjoying no exemption from taxation, pays equally indirectly with them, but fully as much towards *protestant* purposes, the government making ample allocation for these last, as well

as for the former. Regenerated Ireland would go a step beyond this ; and having in her adversity made experience of the voluntary system, and found it admirable in ensuring zealous clergymen and attached flocks, would retain it in her prosperity, and set a brilliant example for the world's imitation.

This dread of catholic ascendancy is an honest but most unreasoning and ungenerous fear with some, while with others it is a pretext and a bugbear.

Yorkshire
and Lan-
cashire
compared
to Ire-
land.

The next objection we shall notice contains something like what logicians call an *argumentum ad absurdum*. "Yorkshire," it is said, "and Lancashire have no parliaments; what greater right has Ireland to a separate legislature than either of them?" "She is," add the broachers of this argument, "an integral portion of the British empire, just as they are." This can be dismissed in very few words. Both of the counties named are physically, as well as politically, portions of England, having the same population, manners, religion, laws, and history. Ireland is physically, most distinct from England, a sea rolling between them, a population preserving a total distinctness of race and religion, considerably distinct in manners, and having a history which is nothing but a record of fortunes most distinct and different from those of the sister country. Seven centuries of connexion have failed to produce an identification of the people of the two countries, and forty years of united legislation have still left glaring discrepancies in their respective amounts of rights and privileges.

The people of Yorkshire are not compelled to pay to a church to which they do not belong; the people of Ireland are. Yorkshire is represented in the united parliament, and so is Lancashire, in a manner far more proportioned to its population, size, &c. than Ireland is with regard to hers. The article No. 1 in the Appendix, before referred to, will shew the reader this disproportion. If the differences we have glanced at were removed—if Ireland were upon an equality with Yorkshire or Lancashire, as to franchises, representation, freedom from taxation to the

church of the minority, &c. &c., then the argument sought to be derived from their case might be taken into consideration, although still one easily to be refuted. The fact is, that it would be best treated by pushing the principle involved in it to its legitimate results, and insisting that if centralization is to prevail with regard to the management of the legislative affairs of Ireland, it ought also to prevail with regard to the *municipal* affairs of Dublin, and by a parity of reasoning, to those of Liverpool, Bristol, &c., which, if these theories be right, would all be better managed by one body sitting in London, than as at present by the local municipalities in each!

The next objection is, that an Irish parliament would be too democratic; yet the repealers look for nothing beyond what the reformers of England desire. Like them, they do certainly desire a full and free representation of the people—vote by ballot, to protect the poor or dependent voter, and short parliaments to make representatives more accountable; but they are devoted to the present constitutional monarchy, and are far less hostile to a house of peers as a state institution, than are the people and middle classes of England. No man who has watched and compared the speeches, &c. of the liberals of Great Britain and of Ireland respectively, can fail to have been struck with the far greater tendency of the former towards jacobinism, than of the latter.

Would
an Irish
parlia-
ment be
too demo-
cratic?

A most certain means of preventing the spread of extreme democracy in Ireland would be, by the wealthier and the titled classes putting themselves at the head of the popular movement. This once done, and done *heartily*, they would soon find their legitimate influence far more than sufficient to check the tendencies so dreaded, and to keep the popular mind within the limits that the most timid could desire.

The next matter put forward to discountenance the proposition of repeal is, the vague and general assurance, that although the Union may not yet have done much

A longer
trial to the
Union!

AN ARGUMENT FOR IRELAND.

good to Ireland, it assuredly will, if allowed a longer trial; and the case of Scotland is cited as one in point. "For a considerable time she improved indeed slowly," is confessed, but it is triumphantly added, that at length she did improve, and ere the end of the century "transcendantly flourished in consequence of her union with Great Britain." It will not require much delay to dispose of this argument. The principal supporter of the assertion of Scotland's greater improvement was the right honorable Henry Dundas—himself a Scotchman—and the proofs he brought forward (in his speech of February 7, 1799,) were these: "That Scotland had *for sale*," as he phrased it, "1,000,000 yards of linen, her staple manufacture in 1706; and in 1796, 23,000,000." But Ireland, according to John Foster, and the hand-loom report (of 1838), exported:—

Years.	Yards.	Value.	Glasgow Population. (By
			Dundas.) Yrs. Dundas. Pop.
1706	530,838	£22,750	1706.....14,790
1783	16,039,705	1,069,313	1798.....77,042
1796	46,705,319	3,113,687	

But no statement of the increase of *general population*, which was a million in 1706, and only one and a half million, according to Mr. Pitt, in 1799; while Ireland had not more than 1,500,000 in 1706, and "now" (*i. e.* 1799) 4,500,000.* But the fact is, that even could Scotland be shown to have increased from her union to 1800 in a greater proportion than Ireland during the same time, the comparison would not be fair, as Scotland was, owing to England's trade-jealousies in the most miserable condition—the "Navigation Act having shut her out from the West

* Again Lord Sheffield, in his "Observations on the Trade, &c., of Ireland," 1785, states, at page 284, that the Irish exports to England alone, on a five years average, ending 1783, were in value £2,301,444, while Chalmers, in his "Comparative Estimate of Scotland and England," p. 229, printed at London, 1794, gives four years average of Scotland to all the world, at only £802,345.

Indies, and England having interfered every where with her trade. Scotland had not virtue enough to right this evil, by asserting the independence of her own parliament, which latter was a mere rotten borough of the crown, in consequence of the two branches of the legislature sitting together, and the power which thus the crown, of course, had and exercised, of obtaining a majority, by increasing the number of barons. Moreover, there were the "*lords of articles*," as they were called, a small body appointed by government, who had the power of veto over every proposition before the latter could be submitted to the legislative body. Still such virtue is there in home-legislation, that even with this most defective and scarcely to be so called parliament, Scotland was, by the establishment of an East Indian and Darian company, put in the fair way of profitable trade, had not England forcibly interfered; and notwithstanding that forcible interference, would have succeeded had she had capital.*

Having now disposed of the least plausible objections to Repeal, we now address ourselves to the main and only one that can really be called an argument, viz.: that separate and co-ordinate legislatures in the same empire cannot work together. Were there soundness in this, Ireland might have to consider whether the connexion between her and Great Britain were worth the deprivation of her own parliament. But soundness there is none in the argument we are dealing with, as will easily appear upon a little consideration. The assertions on the subject are four in chief:

1st.—That between two independent parliaments in the same empire, there would be differences on the question of succession to the throne, and of a regency. Questions of Regency,

2nd.—That the two parliaments might differ as to the necessity and support of a war. War,

3rd.—That in commercial matters their interests might jar, and conflicts ensue. Commerce,

* For Ireland's flourishing condition, from '82 to 1800, see article 10.

Finance. 4th.—That as to financial arrangements, there would be most serious differences of opinion and practice.

**First, re-
gency.** To the first of these objections we answer, that there exists at this moment unrepealed, an act of an *Irish* parliament, known in the Irish Statute Book as the 33rd Henry VIII. chap. 1, which constitutes the King of England, his heirs and successors, kings of Ireland, with all power, authority, and dignity appertaining to the kingly office in Ireland. By that act we are bound, and would be bound, until specially repealed. But we are ready to agree, as we have said in another place, that one of the articles of international treaty at the time of abrogating the legislative union should be, that the king, *or regent de facto* in England, should be king *or regent de jure* in Ireland.

Thus should we close up one source of civil war and confusion, and meantime lose no real advantage, for, after all, those who hold the purse-strings are the real governors of a country, whoever may be the person enjoying the name, style, and dignity.

**Second,
war and
peace.**

Mr. Speaker Foster shall help us to answer the second allegation. In his speech in the Irish House of Commons, 11th April, 1799, (in committee on the Union Bill) he said :—

“As to peace and war, it is to be recollected that the sole and absolute power of making either rests with the executive. It is the King’s prerogative.....But, *from the balance of power to which the British constitution owes its great excellence*, the executive, though vested with power to act by declaring war, is forced to apply to parliament for means to carry it on, and, therefore, must consult their opinion.....Suppose the British parliament to approve a war, and that of Ireland to disapprove, the only difficulty which this difference of sentiment could create would be, that the one who disapproved might withhold its supplies until it could be induced to acquiesce. It could not, by the refusal, stand clear of the miseries, and

hazards, and losses of war, because the king's declaration involves it equally with Britain."

To this we need only add, that should such hesitation occur on the part of Ireland, it would in effect, be beneficial to the empire, as the knowledge of its likelihood would make a minister doubly cautious how he rashly involved the empire in the expense and miseries of a state of war.

But let us not pass from this point without drawing the immediate attention of Irishmen to this question, as it would be effected in the recent most expensive wars of Great Britain. We allude to those of Canada, China, Afghanistan and the Mediterranean. The assembly of Lower Canada sought by the constitutional means of limiting the supplies, to gain some influence over the conduct of the executive, in giving offices to a party in the province opposed to the opinions of the bulk of the population and of the legislature itself. Upon this the British government at home invoked the interference of the imperial parliament. Although a question might well be raised as to the justice of the extent at least to which that interference was pushed, still enough of their parliamentary liberties were left to the Canadians inviolate, to render an appeal to arms totally inexcusable. But in blaming them for thus plunging into all the crime and misery of insurrection, we are not to save the government harmless. If the original evil had not been committed, viz., the truckling to an old ascendancy party, the long train of evils which followed would not have occurred; and the recent conduct of Sir Charles Bagot, when governor-general, shews how useless all the expense and bloodshed has been, since the original concessions which the house of assembly required, viz., the giving a share in administrative offices to others besides the faction noticed, have been by him made and approved of at home. The bloody struggle to obtain a five years' delay to these concessions has cost, it is said, a million and a half to the empire, in addition to the loss of life and the crimes that were committed during

England's
late war
expenses:
Canada,
China,
Mediterranean,
Afghanistan.

the brief contest. What concern had Ireland in the matter? Of what advantage to her is Canada? Of what benefit to her was the temporary triumph over the public opinion of Canada? Yet Ireland has had to pay largely out of her taxes towards these most fruitless expenses. Had she had her own parliament, England would have been left to pay the cost of her obstinacy alone. Can any Irishman say that this would not have been most right?

New danger to Ireland of being involved in war.

The recent journals from British North America, announce that the present governor-general, Sir C. Metcalf, has turned out the ministry that had the confidence of the Canadian parliament, and has done so on nearly the very question that originally led to the insurrection. The popular ministry fairly considered that their own tenure of office was little better than nominal, unless they had the control of their departments and the patronage thereunto appertaining. The governor-general has refused to them these concessions, and so far manifests a spirit to undo and make worse than a mockery of the conciliatory and most wise measures adopted in the time of his predecessor. The quarrel is the graver, as this time it is with the *united* legislature, of English as well as French Canada, instead of as before, with only that of the province in which the French population prevailed, and which had a counterbalance in the opinions of the province where the English settlers preponderated. Another and more dangerous revolt is therefore not unlikely; and in this case Ireland, under the union-arrangements, must bear a part of the burthen, although adverse to the counsels that are provoking the outbreak.

The war with China.

The China war originated from the practice of opium-smuggling—nearly exclusively carried on by British merchants. Ireland had no concern in the iniquitous traffic. The Chinese government themselves were deeply guilty by the nearly universal connivance of its ministers and agents, until their increasing extortion of enormous fees forced a rupture. That government is therefore not to be



excused; but neither is the British—the latter having sanctioned the proceedings of the smugglers for the sake of the Indian revenue. The war that has resulted, has cost the empire about two millions of money, *Irish* as well as British, and this while Ireland had neither share nor profit in the illegal traffic of which we have spoken. Her own parliament would have protected her pocket in this instance also.

The interference by England in the disputes between two barbarians in the Mediterranean—an interference that has resulted only in the weakening and damaging the strength of the abler barbarian of the two—namely Mahomet Ali—who, if encouraged and supported, might have been of considerable use in helping to counteract and baffle the encroachments of Russia)—without adding any real strength to the feebler sultan, or in any way increasing the stability of his tottering throne, occasioned much waste of the resources of the empire. Here again her parliament would have saved Ireland harmless.

The plunderings, treacheries, disasters, and massacres in Afghanistan, might have never occurred had the reckless hand of the British minister been stayed by the involuntary prudence to which he would have been compelled by the refusal of the Irish parliament to involve Ireland in an unjust war.

In all these cases, if England had chosen to go on single-handed, no danger to the empire from invasion of the neutral portion of it, could of course have arisen, as neither Canadians, Chinese, Egyptians, or Affghans, would be likely to attempt a descent on the Irish coast. And in the case of war with a power able to make such an attempt, Ireland's previous neutrality would not of course save her from the necessity of defending her own shores, and the very attack would make her, however unwillingly, a party to the full in the contest.

Come we now to the third prediction of the mutual incompatibility of separate and co-ordinate legislatures in the

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British empire, viz.—that in commercial matters there would be jarring and differences.

If the freely chosen representatives of the Irish people should differ in opinion with the English parliament in these respects, nothing could be more right than that the opinions and will of the former should prevail in Ireland. If England apprehended any evil from the commercial policy adopted by the Irish legislature, she still could guard her own ports *against Ireland as well as against foreign countries*. We now suffer cruelly, whensoever an occasion arises when England, in her commercial negotiations with foreign powers, conceives she can benefit her own interests at the expense of ours. Thus our linen trade was recklessly imperilled in negotiations with France, and our provision trade offered as a sacrifice in an attempted treaty with Portugal; and we are not left at the mercy of foreign powers alone, but every little colony is allowed to deal with us as it likes. Early in the last year our provision merchants had to make loud and utterly fruitless complaints against the conduct of the legislature of Jamaica, which suddenly raised the duties on our imports into that island, to a scale varying from 20 to 70 per cent. of increase upon their former amount. Thus, one of our only remaining manufactures, if it can be so called, was grievously injured, while the compulsion was left upon us of purchasing the higher-priced coffees and sugars of the British West Indian islands, instead of being allowed to supply ourselves with those articles cheaper from foreign colonies. If it was right and fair that the British West Indies should not restrict themselves to Ireland for provisions, when they could be more conveniently supplied elsewhere, surely it would be right and fair that Ireland should have the power of supplying herself more conveniently elsewhere than from them, with the important article of coffee and the *necessary* article of sugar.

The spread of the principles of free trade is likely ere

long to diminish much the chances of differences in commercial matters between countries politically independent of each other. How much more likely is it then, that the chance of differences between two countries politically connected, as Ireland and England must for their own welfare continue to be, should be diminished. And where a case of difference might possibly arise, England would have this advantage on her side, that Ireland could not afford, for any ordinary matter, or even for many extraordinary points, to risk being excluded from the markets of her rich and powerful neighbour; and so would be rather inclined to concede than to resist.

With many, the pretext we are considering is but a cloak for their jealous apprehension of Ireland's rivalry in commerce and manufactures. If this intolerant class are to be noticed at all, it should suffice to say, that the world is wide enough for us all; and that it is nothing other than a blasphemy against Divine Providence, to suppose that the fair and legitimate prosperity of one country can ever be an injury to that of another. But in truth, to dread rivalry from Ireland in these particulars, is—irrespective of the considerations we have just mentioned—absurd, if only on account of the remote possibility of such an event. Were all the capital of Ireland now drained from her to be at once restored, and doubled, trebled in amount, it still would be impossible that she could for several years rival England in manufactures generally. One or two, or even three particular branches might succeed, and in some measure compete with English products of the same description, but she should still supply herself for the major part from England; and what competition she might be able to establish would, in fact, be a benefit to the English consumer, as it would necessarily lower prices to him.

Humanity requires that new sources of industry and employment should be opened up in Ireland. Employment on the land has altogether failed, as it must ever fail, as a means of supporting the entire population of a

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country. The commonest complaint we hear is, that the land is overstocked, that the wretched peasantry of Ireland, having no means of subsistence other than by the occupation of land, bid as it were, for *life and death* against each other, at the *land-auctions*, (as they are aptly termed,) which take place on the ejectment of a tenant, or dropping of a lease; and that thus an almost irresistible temptation is put in the way of the Irish landlord or agent, to demand exorbitant rents. The best, because most natural remedy for this state of things, and consequently the best preventative of the horrid land-murders which result from it, would be the restoration of manufactures and commerce to Ireland; whereby the surplus population would have opened to them other and abundant sources of employment and subsistence.

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ments.

On the matter of the fourth prediction, viz., that of possible "financial" disagreements, we need not long delay. Article No. 6, in the Appendix, will have made the reader acquainted with the injustices we have suffered, and the grievances we have to complain of, under the financial arrangements at the time of the Union, and in 1816. It will there be seen what a heavy sum we would be entitled, in strict right, to demand as no more than a small compensation for the unjust drains of forty-three years. But that article also contains the outlines of a plan by which relief could be given to Ireland, and yet no heavy additional payment demanded from Great Britain, either as compensation to her injured sister, or provision for the burthens which ought justly to be transferred from the shoulders of the latter. We need not enter here into the details of the scheme, which are sufficiently explained in the Appendix,* to which we direct attention—but may content ourselves with stating that the simple principle of

* The plan in question is not put forward as adopted by the Repeal party, or even as in favour with any considerable portion of them, but as a suggestion to induce discussion and consideration of future financial arrangements.

the arrangement there proposed is, that as Ireland is made to contribute so heavily to the imperial expenditure, a corresponding proportion of that expenditure should be allotted to her. This could be done by sharing the government establishments more equally between the two countries, stationing a portion of the imperial navy in our admirable harbours, and allotting to us the special support of that portion—be it as large as England might choose—dealing similarly with the army, with the ordnance, the civil establishments of government, &c. &c. Thus, without the remission of one tax to Ireland, without the additional exclusive imposition of one upon Great Britain, the former would be materially benefitted; and as her prosperity increased, she would speedily be able to bear a far higher proportion of the imperial expenditure, than can now be wrung from her poverty and destitution.

We might have spared the reader much of this discussion by confining ourselves to the simple recording of Mr. Speaker Foster's arguments on the points involved in it. We have already quoted a portion of those arguments, and now subjoin further quotations from the same speech:—

Mr.
Speaker
Foster
on these
points.

“ Theory, and theory alone, says, that the separate parliaments may disagree. But there is no one argument you can apply as shewing a consequent necessity of consolidating them, that will not apply much stronger *for the consolidation of the two houses in each*; and the same arguments will all further apply, with equal strength, to consolidate the two houses with the king, for fear of the national concerns being impeded by disagreement. Thus your arguments will end in the absurdity, that you must consolidate the three estates of each kingdom into one, for fear of a difference of opinion between them, arising from the exercise of their free judgments; that you must abandon the glorious constitution of a mixed government which you now enjoy, and adopt that of a single monarch, or single power, wherever it may rest, either in a monarch,

an oligarchy, or a republic. But *practice*, which is a more steady guide than theory, tells you the reverse. In points of peace and war, the Irish parliament has never, even during centuries, differed in opinion with the British; though its power to do so has ever been as unlimited, and equally free, before as since the constitution of 1782. No interest is a sure guide to nations; and it never was, nor ever can be, the interest of the smaller number to differ from the larger—of the weaker to differ from the more powerful, on such a matter; and it is no rash prediction to say, that good sense, and even necessity must soon reconcile the differing body, if unfortunately such an instance should occur.

“But if we look into the principles of the British constitution, we shall find there abundant reason not only to reject arguments of such a theory as would consolidate the legislatures, but even not to adopt such measure were it practicable. That constitution was not the work of one man, or of one age: it has gradually softened down in the course of centuries into that perfection we now have—more by the collision of circumstances than by the efforts of human wisdom or foresight. That collision has imperceptibly formed a balance in its constituent parts, which, by the power of mutual checks, keeps each within its bounds, and preserves the whole in its true perfection.

“That balancing check is the true principle to which it owes its preservation—destroy it, and the whole is gone! Is it wrong, then, to look for similar good effects from the same balancing principle in the connexion between the legislatures of the two islands, as in the connexion between the component parts of each legislature?”

Summary
and con-
clusions.

Not being aware of other objections of any plausibility to the re-constitution of Ireland's independent parliament—for the smaller fry of insulting prophecies of the corruptness of an Irish parliament,* &c. &c., we shall not con-

* The restored Irish parliament would, of course, be reformed in its constitution. The rotten borough system is condemned in both countries.

descend to notice ; there remains but for us to sum up the matter of these three chapters, and then leave our readers to the consideration of the facts adduced in the Appendix. The Summary need but to be brief.

Ireland plainly did not injure any other country by her legislative independence ; neither was she incapable of managing her own affairs ; therefore her case justified neither of the qualifications stated in the beginning of our first chapter, as being held to limit the application to a form of government in a country, of the test derived from the amount of individual liberty retained in the latter. Therefore Ireland being much more limited in that particular than is England, has been so limited *unjustly*.

We then considered were there any *palliatives* for this injustice—and we found her revenue not increased since the Union, her commerce declined, her manufactures gone, her people starving ! herself in a position of great inferiority in all points of political importance, as compared with England ; therefore we found no palliatives for the deprivation of her rights and liberties.

We thirdly examined whether their restoration would be attended with worse evils than a continuance of their deprivation. We found that danger could not result to freedom of conscience ; that the alleged danger of wild democracy was a bugbear ; that the example of Scotland's condition since her Union actually told for our argument, as her improvement had been far less than ours under our enfranchised parliament ; and her state previous to her Union had been very dissimilar from ours before 1800. We finally examined into all the branches of the attempted argument of incompatibility of separate parliaments ; and we found that divisions of opinion were likely only as to unnecessary wars—most unlikely in commercial matters—and easily obviabale as to financial matters ; and, above all, as to the important question of the succession to the throne.

From these premises we fairly and logically conclude,

that no such evils are to be apprehended from the restoration of our parliament as warrant our being denied it for even one additional month; and therefore we claim and demand the restoration of that parliament.

Opportunity for Great Britain to "be just and fear not."

The history of Great Britain is not without instances of magnanimity and generosity, even at expense and loss to herself. But here is a case in which the exhibition of those qualities, so far from causing a loss, must result in immense and continually increasing advantage. At present she holds us but by force, and our wretched poverty makes us unable to contribute to the exigencies of the empire, save to a miserable amount, although our proportion of imposts is but little less than hers. Let her concede our rightful demands, and she, at once, and for ever, secures our warm and energetic affections; and, as our wealth and prosperity increase, so will our money aid most abundantly and heartily be augmented. Concession now would be gratefully received, and impose a debt which our gratitude would struggle hard to repay. Concession in any of the storms and dangers that now darken the political horizon, and may, within a few months, burst upon England, will lose half its merits from our bitter experience of its denial when she was strong, and our knowledge that we shall then only owe it to her fears and her distress.

Whatever she may do, let Irishmen be true to Ireland.

Whatever England may do, let Ireland but continue the noble, peaceful struggle in which she is engaged, and assuredly success must crown her efforts. Let Irishmen be but true to the high destinies before them—let them persevere resolutely but patiently—ardently but peacefully—and be assured, that as their cause is good and holy, so if their efforts to advance it be kept within the bounds of order and of religion, the blessing of heaven will descend upon it and upon them; and the past sufferings and miseries of Ireland will be lost to the view on the page of history, in the dazzling and transcendent brightness of her future fortunes.

APPENDIX, No. 1.

THE

"INADEQUATE REPRESENTATION GRIEVANCE."

On this subject we copy the greater part of a report, drawn up by DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P., in April, 1840, and shall then proceed with some additional matter.

Report of the Committee of the National Association of Ireland, on the number of Representatives to which Ireland is entitled.

THE COMMITTEE to whom it was referred to consider the injustice done to Ireland by reason of the inadequate number of her representatives, have agreed to the following REPORT.

They have divided the subject referred to, into two distinct branches:

1st—*That which relates to the gross or general number of representatives.*

2nd—*That which relates to a comparative statement of the representation of the English, when contrasted with the Irish counties and towns.*

As to the first, your committee deem it right to bring the attention of the association to the mode in which the number of Irish members to sit in the united parliament was calculated by LORD CASTLEREAGH—and for this purpose we refer to the scale drawn up by him, and exhibited to the Irish parliament.

It is as follows:—

				Members.
For POPULATION,	..	..	...	202
“ EXPORTS,	..	..	..	100
“ IMPORTS,	..	..	..	93
“ REVENUE,	..	..	..	39
				<hr/>
				434

The mean of these quantities gave $108\frac{1}{2}$; so that, according to Lord CASTLEREAGH's own calculation, the right of Ireland exceeded 108 members. No excuse was given for striking off the EIGHT—of these Ireland was defrauded without pretext or argument, and reduced to the number of 100.—Instead of striking off the 8, and leaving the 100, he might as well, in point of principle, have struck off the 100 and left the 8!

This was a glaring injustice; but it was considerably aggravated by reason of the total fallacy of the scale adopted by Lord CASTLEREAGH. For example, he took the population of Ireland as being only *two-fifths* of the population of England, there being then no actual enumeration in either country—but the subsequent enumerations have proved that Ireland, instead of only two-fifths of the population of England, had, in fact, TWO-THIRDS—so that the allowance by Lord CASTLEREAGH, on the above scale of 202 members, ought, in fact, to have been more than 300 on the score of relative POPULATION.

The second item of the scale is equally fraudulent, namely, comparative estimate of EXPORTS; that for Ireland was taken by Lord CASTLEREAGH as only *one-fifth*; whereas, in fact, Ireland at that time supplied the British forces in almost every quarter of the globe, with provisions of every description, and her exports ought to have been taken at TWO-FIFTHS at the least.

The third item, the IMPORTS, were calculated as considerably below *one-fifth*, but they certainly were much higher, and instead of 93 members, ought, at the very lowest calculation, have given Ireland 100; that is *one-fifth*.

The fourth item, of REVENUE, was perfectly fraudulent—because Ireland at that time owed a debt of only *twenty-three millions*—whereas England at that time owed above FOUR HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOUR MILLIONS; the consequence is, that the interest of at least four hundred millions ought to have been deducted from the English revenue, before it was brought into a comparison with that of Ireland; and it is perfectly manifest, that in that view of it, the Irish revenue, instead of being what Lord CASTLEREAGH called it, (*one-twelfth*), was certainly at the least *one-sixth*.

Your committee are convinced that they have made these corrections much more unfavourable to Ireland than they

really would have been, and they now beg leave to contrast the scale as produced by LORD CASTLEREAGH, with that which he ought to have produced, if he had any regard to the just rights of the people of Ireland.

<i>Lord Castlereagh's Scale.</i>		<i>It ought to be.</i>			
POPULATION, 2-5ths	202	2-3rds	...	...	300
EXPORTS, 1-5th ...	100	2-5ths	...	...	200
IMPORTS, less than 1-5th	93	1-5th	...	...	100
REVENUE, 1-12th ...	39	1-6th	...	...	78
	<hr/> 434				<hr/> 678

The mean of the first was, as we have already shewn, 108—which was the number of members LORD CASTLEREAGH *admitted* Ireland ought to have; whereas, even upon the data assumed by himself, if this had been stated with any species of accuracy, the mean of the 678 would be 169½.

Thus at the Union, if justice had been done to Ireland, she would have obtained 169 members instead of 100.

The reason why this injustice was so readily acquiesced in by the Irish borough-mongers was, that £15,000 was paid for every borough which was extinguished by the Union, and every possible claim was made, and in general allowed, to the patronage of the expiring boroughs.

We have annexed a first and second Appendix to the present Report—the one containing the names of the persons to whom the compensation was made—and the sums—amounting altogether to UPWARDS OF ONE MILLION.

The second Appendix contains the claim of the LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY for £15,000, for the borough of Irishtown, being part of the city of Kilkenny—a claim significant of the merits by which bishops were promoted in Ireland, and of the nature of parliamentary patronage.

Your committee respectfully submit, that Ireland has a plain and manifest right to insist upon at least 169 members in the imperial parliament; and that in the most unfavourable way against her, that the calculation could with any truth be made.

Instead of *revenue*, where the debt of each country was so disproportionate, the item of comparative *rental* should have been introduced, and not of revenue alone, as any evidence of comparative property. This point of view was taken up by Mr. NEWENHAM, who was a member of the Irish parliament; and having made corrections in LORD CASTLEREAGH'S tables, produced the following scale, which he demonstrated to be a much nearer approach to accuracy.

For comparative	POPULATION,	..	..	228
"	EXPORTS,	..	..	179
"	IMPORTS,	..	..	168
"	REVENUE,	..	..	85
"	RENTAL,	..	..	186
				<hr/> 846

the mean of these five quantities being $169\frac{1}{2}$.—*First series Repeal Reports*, 1840.

Let us consider if there may not be other data for estimating our proportion of representatives, were it possible to devise a good and lasting system of united legislation. Before passing altogether from Lord Castlereagh's scale, we would, however, just remark, that he himself declared his data unsatisfactory, and that they were loudly complained of in the Irish parliament. A protest on the books of the Irish peers, 26th March, 1800, has this remark: "The adjustment of the number of the Irish members has been determined without any official documents, or other authentic information."

It is an axiom of the constitution, that "taxation ought to be founded on representation." This being so, then Great Britain having more than five times our number of representatives, ought to have more than five times our taxes. But the latter is *not* the case—we paid by equal taxes with her to all but about twelve millions of the public expenditure of the year 1842. A very short detail is here necessary to show how the *proportions* of payments by the two countries stand, taking into consideration their respective ability.

The finance accounts for 1843 not being as yet published, we are constrained to take those of 1842. The expenditure of the United Kingdom in that year was £55,000,000. Of this amount, Great Britain paid by *separate* taxes, viz.—income tax, land and assessed taxes, and some little difference in excise duties, something about twelve millions. The fiscal ability of Ireland was estimated by Sir R. Peel, when detailing his budget in 1842, as

about one-ninth of that of Great Britain. One-ninth of £12,000,000 would be about £1,340,000; which sum Ireland would have had to pay in 1842, (additional upon what she did pay) were she subjected to the taxes we have mentioned as *separate* taxes on Great Britain. Ireland actually paid (in credited and uncredited revenue) about £4,500,000; were she then taxed to the full extent, she would pay altogether about £5,840,000, of which sum the £1,340,000 stated above, is a good deal less than one-fourth. But for the sake of argument, taking it to be so high as one-fourth, Ireland's exemption from taxation is in that proportion. If the axioms of the constitution are to be respected, her exemption from taxation ought to be in the proportion of her inferiority in representation, as compared with Great Britain. In other words, as she has a less share than one-fifth in the parliamentary representation of the United Kingdom, she ought to have a less share than *one-fifth* of the *taxation liabilities also*. Or, if the exigencies of the empire rendered it impossible to relieve her, thus her proportion of representation should be so raised as to justify her proportion of taxation liabilities. That is to say, her number of members ought to be to the British number, as 3 to 4—or 282 members for Ireland to 376 for Great Britain—total as now, 658.

Some such alteration as this should then be made in the respective numbers of representatives possessed by the two great sections of the United Kingdom, were it possible that the legislative union could continue. But the latter is not a possibility, if for no other reason than that the bitter opposition made to the addition of *five* members only to our number, at the time of the reform bill, convinces, and is a powerful proof, that Great Britain would never consent to the important change we suggest in her internal constitution of her own parliament.

With reference to the second branch of the subject mentioned in the report we have quoted from, we take an excellent though summary exposé of the grievance it in-

volves, from the most able speech of Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN, M. P. for Limerick, in the House of Commons, 4th July, 1843 :—

The corrupt borough of Harwich, with its population of 3,829 persons, together with the nomination borough of Ripon, possess as much influence in the legislature as the county of Tipperary, (including the members for Cashel and Clonmel,) with its population of 435,553, and its rental of £886,439. Again, compare the representation of Dorsetshire with that of the county of Galway. The area of Dorsetshire is 627,220 acres ; its real property assessed to poor-rate in 1841, £735,234 per ann.; its population in 1841, 174,743 persons ; the number of its members—County 3, Bridport 2, Dorchester 2, Poole 2, Lyme Regis 1, Shaftesbury 1, Wareham 1, Weymouth 2—total 14. The area of Galway is—County 1,485,533 acres, Town 25,059 acres—total 1,510,592 acres ; the rental, as estimated by Griffith—County £850,000, Town (excluding the value of the houses) £18,894—total rental £868,894 ; and if the value of the houses in the town be included, not less than £900,000 per annum. The population in 1841 was—County 422,923, Town 17,275—total 440,198. Members—County 2, Town 2—total members 4. In each of the particulars of area, rental, and population, Galway greatly exceeds Dorsetshire. Yet Dorsetshire has 14 representatives, while Galway enjoys only 4.....

The conclusion to be drawn from a comparison of the number of persons qualified to vote in each country, sufficiently proves, that in proportion to its population and resources, Ireland does not possess an electoral body nearly as numerous as that of England. The population of Ireland in 1841 was 8,175,238 persons. The number of electors registered between the 1st February, 1835, and the 1st February, 1843, was as follows :—Counties, 63,389 ; cities, 27,091 ; boroughs, 19,465 : total, 109,945, being less by 14,332 than the number registered during the five years previous to the 1st February, 1837. But, inasmuch as this registry extends over a period of eight years, a large deduction, probably not less than one-third, ought to be made for double registries, deaths, and expiration of title. After these deductions have been made, the actual number of persons qualified to vote, cannot be assumed to be more than 80,000, or say one per cent. on the population. If property be regarded as the legitimate basis of the franchise, the number of electors is almost equally inadequate in reference to this test. Assuming the rental of Ireland to be 15,000,000*l.* per annum, which is not far from the truth, there would not be more than

one elector for every 187*l.* 10*s.* of rental. Now, in the first year after the Reform Act, the proportion of electors to population in England was, in counties as 1 to 24, and in boroughs and cities as 1 to 17. The number of electors in England has since that time considerably increased. In Ireland the constituency is yearly diminishing. So much for the general view. Now look at the detail. Assuming first that the parliamentary franchise ought to be commensurate with population, let us compare the number of electors in two counties of Ireland and England in which the population is nearly the same—Mayo and Lincolnshire. In Mayo, which has only two representatives, the population in 1841 was 388,887 persons. The number of electors registered between the 1st February, 1835, and the 1st February, 1843, was 1494. This number is subject to a deduction of say one-third for double registries, deaths, and loss of title. In Lincolnshire, which is represented by eleven members, the population was in 1841, 362,717 persons, the number of electors qualified to vote in 1840 was, county electors, 18,876—town electors, 3,999—total, 22,875. But if it be said that the franchise ought not to be proportionate to population, but to property, let us compare two counties in regard to rateable property. In Meath the population amounted in 1841 to 183,828 persons; the rateable rental, according to the townland valuation, which is much below the actual rent, to 527,593*l.*; the number of electors registered between the 1st of February, 1835, and 1st February, 1843, 1481, subject to deduction for double registries, deaths, and loss of qualifications. In Westmoreland the population was in 1841, 56,469 persons; the real property rated to poor rate in 1841 was 266,335*l.*; the number of electors qualified to vote in 1840 was, county, 4,480; town, (Kendal,) 351; total, 4,831. Now, if Meath had a constituency as large as that of Westmoreland, in proportion to the real property of each county, Meath would have about 9000 electors instead of 1481 upon the registry, of whom probably not more than 1000 are qualified to vote. Will any one who has followed me in this comparison, contend that the Irish parliamentary franchise is more liberal than that of England.

We borrow from the pages of the *Dublin Weekly Register*, an admirable illustration by the excellent proprietor of that valuable paper, of the grievance on Ireland, in comparison with Wales:—

COMPARATIVE RESOURCES OF WALES AND CORK.

In the late discussion in the corporation, Mr. O'Connell remarked that though Wales had only the one-tenth of the

population of Ireland, it received an addition of six members by the arrangement under the reform bill, though all Ireland received only five. He also remarked, that the population of Cork is about equal to that of Wales, and yet that Cork had only two members, whereas Wales had twenty-eight. His observation was applied to the rural population; but an honourable member used it as a point against him, that Cork has altogether eight members (including those for the city and boroughs). The same honourable member adverted to the wealth of Wales, evidently implying, that if that principality had a great superiority of members, it was a distinction to which it was entitled by its superior riches. Let us see how the facts stand in this matter.

The only parliamentary paper, within our recollection, that gives an account of the relative amounts of the English, Irish, Scotch, and Welch revenue, is one published in 1832 (sessional number, 206). It gave the following totals:—

English	...	...	...	£42,910,280
Irish	...	...	...	4,329,101
Scotch	...	...	...	5,113,353
Welch	...	...	...	348,710

This is a very small revenue for "rich" Wales; and, small as it is, nearly one-third of the whole is made up of land and assessed taxes. There is scarcely a port in Wales deserving the name, and therefore the whole custom duty of this opulent principality amounts only to £26,139. We shall compare both excise and customs with these of Cork:—

Cork Customs	...	...	...	£263,364
Welch ditto	...	...	...	26,139
Difference in favour of Cork				237,225
Cork Excise	...	...	...	272,525
Welch ditto	...	...	...	176,046
Difference in favour of Cork				96,479
Total Revenue of Cork without land or assessed taxes				535,889
Total Revenue of Wales, including land and assessed taxes				348,710
Difference in favour of Cork				187,179

Cork is not more than a third of the area of Wales, but its powers of production greatly exceed these of the whole princi-

pality. The estimated value of the property assessed to the poor rates in Wales, in 1815, was £2,130,151. This we should take to be much under the value of the Cork property. There were in Cork, in 1831, above 118,000 houses. Half of them at £20 a year, are worth £1,180,000 per annum; the other half, at £10 a year, are worth £590,000 per annum. Both these amounts make £1,770,000; and the landed rental cannot be of much less amount. Let us take the whole rental, however, at 3,100,000*l.*, and it is a third higher than that of Wales. It is curious to observe, too, how much beneath Cork the entire principality is in the sums raised for local purposes. In 1832, the county rates in Wales amounted only to 41,000*l.* They are now, probably 50,000*l.*; but in the last year, the county rates of Cork amounted to 110,403*l.* Let us put all these tests of relative wealth in tabular form, the better to facilitate comparison.

	Wales.		Cork.
Revenue	£348,000	...	£535,000
Rental	2,100,000	...	3,100,000
County Rates	50,000	...	110,000
Total		£2,498,000	Total £3,745,000

Revenue alone, however, is enough for our present purposes. In that respect Cork is a fourth or 25 per cent. beyond Wales. Therefore, on this ground (and it is the great one relied upon in England) Cork ought to have to the extent of a fourth more members than Wales. She should, therefore, have 35 members when Wales has 28: but instead of 35 she has only 8 for the entire county. The Welch and Cork members amount altogether to 36. If these were allotted to each in proportion to their relative wealth, the number for Wales would be 16, and for Cork 20.

	Wales.		Cork.
Representation as it is	... 28	...	8
Representation as it ought to be	... 16	...	20

It follows, therefore, that Wales has 12 members *more* than she ought to have, and Cork 12 *less*. If all the additional members given to Wales were added to the 5 given to all Ireland, it would be a smaller measure of justice than Cork alone might claim on a comparison of her pretensions, at least with Wales.—*Dublin Weekly Register*.

We conclude this article with extracts from Reports published by the Precursor Association of Ireland, in 1839,

bearing on the details of the Franchise Injustices, and with the two interesting Appendices to the Report from which we first quoted :—

In England there are the following nine parliamentary franchises, or rights of voting, in counties :

First—The franchise of 40s. freehold for a life or lives. This franchise requires occupation.

Second—The franchise of 40s. freehold, arising from an estate in fee-simple—that is, in perpetuity. This franchise does not require occupation.

Third—The franchise of £10 clear yearly value, for a life or lives, or in fee. This franchise does not require occupation.

Fourth—The franchise of £10 clear yearly value, in a copyhold estate. This franchise does not require occupation.

Fifth—The original lessee or assignee of a term originally of sixty years or upwards, of the clear yearly value of £10. This franchise does not require occupation.

Sixth—The original lessee or assignee of a term originally of at least twenty years, of the clear yearly value of £50. This franchise does not require occupation.

Seventh—The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease of a term originally not less than sixty years, of the clear yearly value of £10. This franchise does require occupation.

Eighth—The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less originally than twenty years, of the clear yearly value of £50. This franchise requires occupation.

Ninth—Any tenant whatsoever, *bona fide* liable to a rent of £50 a year, whether he have any profit or not. This franchise does require occupation.

The five parliamentary franchises for counties in Ireland are as follow :

First—A freehold of the clear yearly value of £10. This franchise does require occupation.

Second—The lessee or assignee of a term of not less originally than twenty years, having a beneficial interest therein of the clear yearly value of £10. This franchise also requires occupation.

Third—A freehold of the clear yearly value of £20. This franchise does not require occupation.

Fourth—The lessee or assignee of a term, of not less originally than sixty years, and having a beneficial interest therein of the clear yearly value of 10%. This franchise does not require occupation.

Fifth—The lessee or assignee of a term of not less originally than fourteen years, and having a beneficial interest therein of

the clear yearly value of 20*l*. This franchise does not require occupation. But all sub-lessees, or the assignees of an under lease of any of the above terms, do require occupation.

It is quite true, that they have given us a copyhold franchise, simply because there are no copyhold tenures in Ireland.

Your Committee further remark, that there are the following differences also existing, between the English 10*l*. freehold franchise, and the 10*l*. freehold franchise in Ireland.

First.—That no 10*l*. freeholder in England need attend the registry, or make any proof of his title, unless his right to register shall have been publicly objected to, and a specific notice of such objection served upon him.

In Ireland every 10*l*. freeholder must attend, and prove his case, and be liable to a cross-examination upon oath, and he must also produce his title deeds, or account upon oath for their non-production.

Secondly.—The occupation of the premises by the voter is not necessary for a 10*l*. freeholder in England. He is entitled to register, although he never was in possession, provided he received one half year's rent; and he is entitled to vote the moment after being registered.

On the contrary, in Ireland the 10*l*. freeholder must have been in the actual occupation of the premises for six months previous to registry, and he cannot vote for six months after registry.

Thirdly.—The English 10*l*. franchise has this additional advantage over the Irish, that any number of joint tenants, tenants in common or in copartnery, may register in England, provided the property be of sufficient value to give to each a clear profit of 10*l*. a year.

In short, the English reform act is intended to increase and accumulate the number of voters. The Irish reform act, on the contrary, was drawn up with the concealed and distinctly disavowed, but real desire, to restrict and limit the elective franchise, and to exclude from the right of voting as many of the Irish people as possible.

This plan so derogatory to Ireland, as to make the Irish reform act as limited and as unsatisfactory as possible, was carried into effect under the management of Lord Stanley, whose hatred to the people of Ireland is the most conspicuous feature of his conspicuous character, and by the instrumentality of the then solicitor-general for Ireland, Mr. CRAMPTON.

It is now quite manifest, that this learned gentleman, now Mr. JUSTICE CRAMPTON, contrived, by some mistake or other, to draw the Irish bill in a manner, so little consistent with the instructions which he received from the cabinet, that he has himself, as a judge, pronounced an opinion, that the construction

of the act is directly opposite to that which the ministers intended by their instructions to him.

The point upon which this contradiction arises, relates to the value of the 10*l.* franchise; and your committee are in a position to prove, that Mr. SOLICITOR-GENERAL CRAMPTON distinctly stated, that he had in this respect, complied with the instructions he had received, although his own opinion now is, that the instructions to which we now allude, have not been complied with.

To make this matter more plainly understood, it is our duty to bring public attention to the construction which several of the Irish judges are reported to have put upon the Irish act, with respect to the mode of calculating the value of the property comprised in the franchise.

This is a matter of vital importance, as such construction actually raises the pecuniary value of the franchise, to one of 20*l.* a year value or thereabouts, instead of the 10*l.* franchise intended by the legislature.

The first act which introduced the 10*l.* franchise into Ireland, was the 10th of Geo. IV., c. 8, and which was the first act that introduced the present form and mode of registry in Ireland.

By the sixth section of that act, it was made necessary for the claimant, to entitle him to register, to prove, beside his title and occupation of the land, that a solvent and responsible tenant could afford to pay, fairly and without collusion, for his premises, the annual sum of 10*l.* as an additional rent; and in the affidavit which the claimant was bound to make, upon being declared entitled to register, he was, by the sixth schedule of the 10th Geo. IV., c. 8, made to swear in these words, "and that a solvent and responsible tenant could, as I verily believe, afford to pay for the said premises, as an additional rent, fairly and without collusion, the annual sum of 10*l.* over and above all rent to which I am liable in respect thereof."

It was easily perceived, that the rent which a solvent tenant could pay, over and above the rent payable by the claimant, was not a fair test of the profit arising in due course of husbandry out of the lands, to the occupying tenant; because any solvent tenant who paid, for example, 10*l.* a year more than the rent payable by the claimant, would, and ought to realise out of the premises, by due course of husbandry, an additional or further profit; and such additional profit, though *bona fide* produced by the land, and though a *bona fide* income to the person in possession, was not, according to the 10th of Geo. IV. to be taken into calculation at all, in estimating the value of the 10*l.* franchise. And in like manner the actual profit and income derived by the claimant, fairly and *bona fide* out of the lands, was not to be taken into consideration, though

it should amount to 10% a year. Nay, though it should be greater than 10% a year, unless it were so much greater, as to induce a solvent tenant to pay an additional rent of 10% a year, with a fair prospect of obtaining his natural agricultural profit from the additional advance.

The oppressive effect of this franchise, as established by the 8th of Geo. IV. was so universally felt, that it was one of the mischiefs which required reform, and, accordingly, in the Irish reform act, 2d and 3d Wm. IV., c. 88, the words introduced to describe the 10% franchise were, "having a *beneficial interest* in the premises, of the clear yearly value of not less than 10% over and above all rent and charges."

It is further to be observed, that the 10th of Geo. IV. was repealed by the 2d and 3d Wm. IV., in every thing that related to the registry, and in the new registry, there was nothing said of what a solvent tenant would or could pay; and instead of proving anything respecting a solvent tenant, the claimant, in addition to proof of his title, was directed to prove the property in respect of which he sought to be registered, to be "of the value and nature by this act prescribed;" and in the schedule to the reform act, (see schedule C, No. 6,) the affidavit for registry, under the reform act, is set out in substance the same with the affidavit in the 10th of Geo. IV., save in this one most important particular, namely, that the words relating to what a solvent tenant could pay, are totally omitted.

It was upon this point, that the then SOLICITOR-GENERAL CRAMPTON stated, that he had complied with the instructions of the cabinet, to make the "beneficial interest" the test of the 10% value. It is said, however, that Mr. JUSTICE CRAMPTON has given on the bench an opinion—we know not whether judicial or extra-judicial—that the "beneficial interest" was not made the test of the value of the franchise, under his own Irish reform bill. Whether it be true, that he gave such an opinion or not, is, after all, uncertain; but it is quite certain, and part of history, that he solemnly assured a cabinet minister, that he had in that bill, made the "beneficial interest" the test of the franchise.

We submit that the propriety of the test of value, for which the Irish people have so often in vain contended, is elucidated by the Scotch reform act; for the parliamentary franchise in counties in Scotland, is upon an equally liberal foundation, as it is extended to "all persons, who are owners of any lands or tenements in the county, of the yearly value of 10%, and which shall actually yield, or be capable of yielding that value to the claimant, above feu duty or rent, or other considerations which he may be bound to pay for the same."—*Report of Precursor Association on County Franchise.*

Your Committee beg leave to state, that in Ireland, before the passing of the Reform Act, there were in the open towns and boroughs in Ireland, five distinct classes of voters.

1st.—Freeholders of 40*s.* holding in fee simple or perpetual estate.

2nd.—Freeholders of 40*s.* for a life or lives.

3rd.—Freemen by right of birth, servitude, or marriage.

4th.—Freemen by grace especial.

5th.—Persons occupying houses of £5 annual value.

Your Committee cannot repress their just indignation, when they state, that of these franchises, four have been annihilated by the reform act, and the only one preserved is that of freemen by birth, servitude, or marriage—the most obnoxious, as we shall shew, in its practical results, of any franchise that could well be imagined—the nuisance of freemen by grace especial always excepted.

We ought, perhaps, to observe in passing, that the freemen by grace especial, and the 40*s.* freeholders, if residents, were preserved for the lives of the persons entitled thereto, and in existence at the time of passing of the reform act.

Your Committee complain bitterly of the fact, that although by the Irish reform act, as it passed the House of Commons, the four rights of the 40*s.* freeholders and of freemen were preserved during the lives of persons then qualified, but were not to be renewed or continued to any other persons, yet the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, at the instigation of the faction hostile to his native country, having insisted that the freemen by birth, servitude, and marriage, should be preserved in Ireland, Lord Grey, with ready complacency assented, but did not insist that the resident 40*s.* freeholders should be equally preserved. Thus giving a decided advantage to the Orange faction, who were already in possession of the corporations, and enabling them to commit the gross and flagitious frauds which we shall detail more at length hereafter.

It will be observed, that there are two classes of cities and towns that come within the scope of our present Report.

The first class consists of the cities and towns in England and in Ireland, that are counties in themselves. Secondly, cities and towns that are not counties, and in the word ‘towns’ we mean to include all boroughs.

Let us take the first class in England, which comprises a great number of cities and towns, and there are the following parliamentary franchises in them.

1st.—Freeholders of 40*s.* annual value, for a life or lives, as in counties—this franchise requires actual occupation.

2nd.—A freehold in perpetuity of 40*s.* value—this does not require actual occupation.

3rd.—The enjoyment of certain tenures, called Burgage tenures, without any reference to value—this franchise does not require occupation.

4th.—Occupation of any house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, or *other building*, of the clear yearly value of £10—this franchise requires occupation.

5th.—Freemen admitted in respect of birth or servitude.

In the Irish counties of cities and towns, the two first of these franchises are annihilated; that is, the two classes of 40s. freeholders—it is perfectly manifest therefore, that a great number of voters are thus destroyed.

The third class, namely, the holders of Burgage tenures, never existed in Ireland. It follows, therefore, that there is an entire class in England, to multiply the comparative number of voters there; and there are two classes more, which were preserved in the favoured country, England, but were destroyed in Ireland—thus creating another of these odious contrasts which make the flesh creep, at perceiving the vile injustice done to the Irish people, by depriving them of rights which their English neighbours enjoy.

Your Committee emphatically call upon those who are for continuing the Legislative Union between both countries, now to say, whether they will acquiesce in this degrading disparity of franchise, or come forward now to assist this Society, in procuring that equality, without which there may be a nominal, but cannot be a real Union.

Having specified the franchises in the English counties of cities and towns, we proceed to mention those in similar places in Ireland. They are these—

1st.—£10 freeholders—this franchise requires actual occupation.

2nd.—Leaseholders of a term originally of 20 years, of the value of £10 a year—this requires occupation.

3rd.—Householders, occupying any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, of the clear yearly value of £10—this franchise requires actual occupation.

Your Committee desire to bring the attention of the Irish public to this important fact, that the third of these three franchises includes the other two—each of the three requires actual occupation, and £10 annual value—so that it really is an impudent attempt at delusion, to create nominally three franchises, as if a great boon was offered the Irish, while, in reality, there is but one; and therefore we shall treat them but as one, and justly denominate as the *second* franchise.

2nd.—The freehold of the clear yearly value of 20*l.*, which franchise does not require occupation; and as the

3rd.—The lessee or assignee of a term, originally of 60

years, of the annual value of 10*l.*, which does not require occupation.

4th.—The lessee or assignee of a term of 14 years, of the annual value of 20*l.*, which does not require occupation.

5th.—Freemen admitted in respect of birth, servitude, or marriage.

We now proceed to the other class of cities and towns, namely, those which are not counties in themselves—these are commonly called boroughs.

In England the rights of voting in boroughs, are as follow :

1st.—10*l.* householders requiring occupation.

2nd.—Freemen by birth and servitude.

In Ireland also, there are also two franchises in boroughs—

1st.—10*l.* householders requiring occupation.

2nd.—Freemen by birth, servitude, or marriage.

We should however observe, that another right to vote seems to have been worked out by judicial decisions. It is that of the 12 or 13 burgesses which formed the parliamentary constituency in each of the boroughs instituted by James the 1st, no less than 40 of which were created by him in one day.

This addition, of course, is unfavourable to the Irish people, and the importance of such an addition will appear, when we come to consider the extreme paucity of electors in our boroughs.

Your Committee next deem it their duty to designate the points, in which the Reform Act of England has been more favourable to English cities and towns, than the Irish Reform Act has been to those in Ireland: We will follow the classification already adopted, and will begin with cities and towns which are counties in themselves.

The advantages of the English over the Irish are these—

1st.—The admissibility of large classes of voters, as 40*l.* freeholders.

2nd.—The increase of such voters, by it not being necessary to occupy the premises when held in perpetuity.

3rd.—The persons possessed of Burgage tenures, and who can register and vote without occupying the same.

Let it be remembered, that England, though the richer country, has these three classes of voters in its cities and towns being counties, whilst the last of them never was in existence at all in this country. The other two were in existence in Ireland, but were taken away by the iniquitous Act of the 10th George IV. and were not restored by the Irish Reform Act at all.

4th.—The 10*l.* freehold franchise in counties of cities or towns in England, does not require actual occupation ; whereas in Ireland it does require actual occupation, and requires that such occupation should be continuous.

It is manifest, therefore, that this distinction of the necessity of occupancy in Ireland, and its being dispensed with in England, tends to increase the number of voters, and the facility of voting in England, and, in the same proportion, to diminish them in Ireland.

Your Committee come next to the consideration of the constituencies in the boroughs in England and in Ireland; especially as relates to the 10% householders, who ought to form the effective constituencies of these boroughs.

The English, in this particular, have the following advantages—

1st.—That the premises which in England give the franchise, consist not only of a house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, to which they are limited in Ireland, but expressly include *any other building* whatsoever.

Now it would be difficult to estimate *a priori*, the difference which the omission of the term "*other building*" has made in the Irish borough registries. Tory assistant-barristers have held, that corn-stores, and provision-stores, nay, even manufactories of every kind, were not "*warehouses*," under the meaning of the act.

It has also been held, that stables belonging to coach and car-owners, do not confer a right to vote under the Irish act, though they would clearly under the English one; and the argument for rejecting the claims of the owners to register, has been fortified by the fact, that the words "*other building*," were included in the English, and excluded from the Irish act.

The second great advantage which the English £10 householders possess over the Irish, consists in this—that the actual occupation prior to registry, by the voter, need not be continuously in the premises out of which he seeks to vote, but may be in any premises of similar value within the borough.

In Ireland, on the contrary, the claimant must occupy continuously the same identical premises, for six months prior to, and for six months after the registry, before he can vote; any change of residence during that time, deprives the claimant of the right to register, or of the right to vote.

The third advantage which the English £10 householders have over the Irish, consists in this, that in England, joint occupiers of houses, or other sufficient premises, can register and vote, if the value of the premises, when divided by the number of occupants, gives 10% to each. By this means partners, however numerous, may become electors, and the joint occupancy, for the purposes of a lucrative trade, augments the number of voters for an English borough, in the ratio of partnerships carrying on business within that borough. It is quite

the reverse in Ireland—none of the persons in joint occupation can become an elector, by virtue of premises so held.

Suppose in England premises are held in a borough, of the clear value of 50*l.* a year, by a firm consisting of five partners, each of them can register, and become an elector. But in Ireland not one of them could become an elector; nay, if only two partners held premises in Ireland, worth 1000*l.* a year, neither one nor the other of them can register.

This is a monstrous inequality between the two countries, and gives a proportionate advantage to England over Ireland, which is utterly inconsistent with an Union between them.

The fourth, and the greatest difference between the boroughs in England and Ireland, consists in the rate-paying clauses—

In England the 10*l.* householder can register, and vote, upon payment of two taxes—

First—The poor rates—and

Secondly—The assessed taxes.

He has an easy access to the rate books of the collector of both these taxes—he can have no difficulty in making the payment of them—they are always receivable without any inconvenience.

But in Ireland the case is widely different. The 10*l.* householder, especially in the cities, is liable to the payment of a number of taxes, before he can register or vote, including Grand Jury Cess.—*Report of Precursor Association on City, Town, and Borough Franchise.*

ADDENDA, No. I.

Compensation for BOROUGH RIGHTS extinguished by the UNION, and NAMES of PARTIES to whom it was severally awarded.

BOROUGHES.	PARTIES TO WHOM AWARDED.	COMPEN- SATION.
Clonekilty, Co. Cork ...	Richard, Earl of Shannon ...	£15,000
Castlemartyr, ditto ...	Ditto ...	15,000
Charleville, ditto ...	Ditto ...	7,500
... ..	Edmund, Earl of Cork ...	7,500
Newcastle, Co. Dublin ...	Portrieve and Burgesses, Right	15,000
	Hon. David Latouche ...	
Ballinakill, Queen's Co...	Charles, Marquis of Drogheda ...	15,000

BOROUGHES.	PARTIES TO WHOM AWARDED.	COMPEN- SATION.
St. Johnstown, County Longford ...	George, Earl of Granard ...	15,000
Mullingar, Co. W. Meath	Ditto ...	15,000
Harristown, Co. Kildare.	Sovereign and Burgeesses, and John Latouche, Esq. ...	15,000
Boyle, Co. Roscommon.	Robert, Earl of Erris, Executor of Robert, Earl of Kingston, ...	15,000
Longford ...	Thomas, Earl of Longford ...	15,000
Aughur, Co. Tyrone ...	John James, Marquis of Abercorn...	15,000
Kilbeggan, Co. W. Meath	Gustavus Lambert, Esq. ...	15,000
Castlebar, Co. Mayo ...	Richard, Earl of Lucan ...	15,000
Kilmallick, Co. Limerick	Richard Oliver, Esq. ...	15,000
Duleek, Co. Meath ...	Executor and Trustees under will of H. Bruen, Esq. ...	15,000
Taghmon, Co. Wexford.	Executors and Trustees under will of Henry Bruen, Esq. ...	15,000
Carrick, Drumrusk ...	Robert, Earl of Leitrim ...	15,000
Belturbet, Co. Cavan ...	Armar, Earl of Belmore ...	15,000
Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal ...	Ditto ...	15,000
Newtownards, Co. Down.	James, Earl of Caledon ...	15,000
Banagher, King's County	Right Hon. W. B. Ponsonby ...	15,000
St. Johnstown, Co. Donegal ...	Alice, Countess of Wicklow, and the Right Hon. Wm. Howard and H. Howard ...	15,000
Callan, Co. Kilkenny ...	George, Lord Callan ...	15,000
Baltimore, Co. Cork ...	Sir John Freke, Bart. ...	15,000
Dingle, Co. Kerry ...	Richard Boyle Townsend ...	15,000
Carysfort, Co. Wicklow.	John, Earl of Carysfort ...	15,000
Rathcormac, Co. Cork...	Trustees under will of Lord Riversdale ...	15,000
Hillborough, Co. Down.	Arthur, Marquis of Downshire ...	15,000
Monaghan ...	Lord Clermont, Lord Rossmore, T. Jones, and Henry Westenra, in trust ...	15,000
Lifford, Co. Donegal ...	John, Earl of Erne ...	15,000
Batoath, Co. Meath ...	George Lowther, Esq. ...	15,000
Fore ...	Arthur, Marquis of Downshire ...	15,000
Ardfert, Co. Kerry ...	John, Earl of Glandore ...	15,000
Gouran, Co. Kilkenny ...	Henry Webbo, Viscount Clifden	15,000
Thomastown, ditto ...	Ditto ...	15,000
Clonmines, Co. Wexford	Charles, Marquis of Ely and Chas. Tottenham, Esq. to be paid to Trustee, under Will of Henry, late Earl of Ely ...	15,000
Bannow, ditto ...	Ditto ...	15,000
Fethard, ditto ...	Ditto ...	15,000
Bangor, Co. Down ...	Earl of Carrick ...	7,500
	Hon. Edmond and Hon. T. Ward...	7,500
Jamestown, Co. Leitrim.	John King, Esq. ...	7,500
...	Trustees under Settlement of Gilbert King, of Charlestown, Esq. }	7,500
Killyleagh, Co. Down ...	Sir J. Stevenson Blackwood ...	15,000
Gorey, Co. Wexford ...	Stephen Ram, Esq. ...	15,000
Blessington, Co. Wicklow	Arthur, Marquis of Downshire, and Trustees under Will of C. Dunbar, Esq. ...	15,000

BOROUGHES.	PARTIES TO WHOM AWARDED.	COMPEN- SATION.
Wicklow	William Tighe, Esq.	£15,000
Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.	Ditto, and Trustees of Sir W. Fownes	15,000.
Cavan	Theophilus Clements, Esq.	7,500
Philipstown, King's Co.	Thomas Neabitt, Esq.	7,500
Carlingford, Co. Louth...	Earl of Belvedere, Earl of Lanesboro', & Countess of Lanesboro' } Guardian of Ross Balfour Moore, } a Minor	15,000 7,500
Dunleer, ditto ...	Rt. Hon. John Foster and Henry Coddington	7,500
... ..	Sovereign and Burgesses of Dunleer	7,500
Askeaton, Co. Limerick.	Earl of Carrick	6,850
... ..	Hon. Edward Massey	6,850
... ..	Sir Joseph Hoar, Bart.	200
... ..	Sir Vere Hunt, Bart.	1,100
Charlemont, Co. Armagh	Francis W., Earl of Charlemont ...	15,000
Middleton, Co. Cork ...	Viscount Middleton, and Bailiffs and Burgesses	15,000
Naas, Co. Kildare ...	John, Earl of Mayo, Hon. & Rev. R. Burke, and Sovereign and Burgesses	15,000
Maryboro, Co. ...	Right Hon. J. Parnell	7,500
Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford	Right Hon. Charles H. Coote ...	7,500
Ardee, Co. Louth ...	Cornelius, Lord Lisamore	12,800
Doneraile, Co. Cork ...	Robert Cornwall, Esq.	2,700
Lanesborough, Co. Longford	Charles and W. P. Ruxton, Esq. ...	7,500
Kells, Co. Meath ...	William Ruxton, Esq.	7,500
Lismore, Co. Waterford.	Viscount Doneraile	15,000
Tallagh	Luke, Lord Clonbrock	15,000
Newtown-limavady, Co. Derry	Marquis of Headfort... ..	15,000
Killybeggs, Co. Donegal.	William, Duke of Devonshire ...	15,000
Athenry, Co. Galway ...	Ditto	15,000
Athboy, Co. Meath ...	Robert, Earl of Londonderry ...	7,500
Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow	Lord Viscount Castlereagh... ..	7,500
Fethard, Co. Tipperary.	Henry, Earl of Conyngham... ..	15,000
Trim, Co. Meath ...	Theophilus Blakeney, Esq.	15,000
Tuam, Co. Galway ...	John, Earl of Darnley	15,000
Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny	Earl of Aldborough, &c.	15,000
Granard, Co. Longford.	Earl of Aldborough, &c.	15,000
Athy, Co. Kildare ...	Cornelius, Lord Lisamore	7,500
Kildare	Thomas Barton, Esq.	7,500
Randalstown, Co. Antrim	Richard, Marquis Wellesley	15,000
Tulsk, Co. Roscommon.	John, Lord Clanmorris	14,000
Donegal	Hon. W. Yelverton	1,000
Roscommon	Sir G. Shee, Bart.	1,188
	Right Hon. Sir H. Langrishe ...	13,862
	G. F. Lyttleton and W. F. Grenville, Esqrs.	15,000
	William, Lord Ennismore	1,800
	William, Duke of Leinster	13,800
	Ditto	15,000
	Chas. H. St. John, Earl O'Neill. ...	15,000
	James Caulfield, Guardian of St. George Caulfield	15,000
	Arthur, Earl of Arran	15,000
	Henry, Lord Mount-Sandford ...	15,000

BOROUGHES.	PARTIES TO WHOM AWARDED.	COMPEN- SATION.
Nazan, Co. Meath ...	John, Lord Tara	£7,500
St. Canice, &c., Irish- town, Co. Kilkenny ...	Peter, Earl of Ludlow	7,500
Clogher, Co. Tyrone ...	Commissioners of First Fruits, } claimed by the Bishop of Ossory }	15,000
Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow	Commissioners First Fruits, claim- } ed by the Bishop of Clogher }	15,000
Antrim	Commissioners of First Fruits, } claimed by Bishop of Ferns }	15,000
	Earl Massereene	3,750
	Hon. Henry Skeffington	3,750
	Hon. W. J. Skeffington	3,750
	Hon. Chichester Skeffington	3,750
Swords, Co. Dublin ...	No claim admitted, but compensa- } tion vested in trust for public } purposes, Schools, &c., within } the Town }	15,000
TOTAL COMPENSATION.....		£1,237,500

35 Boroughs vested in peers, and for which compensation was awarded to them by the commissioners.

3 Boroughs vested in bishops, for which payment was awarded to the first fruits fund.

24 Boroughs vested in private individuals, who received compensation according to their alleged duration of tenure; and one borough, SWORDS, so notoriously corrupt, that none of the many claimants could establish any valid claim to money compensation.

ADDENDA No. II.

The BISHOP OF OSSORY'S CLAIM for Compensation, for the Borough of the IRISHTOWN, of KILKENNY, contains the following Statement.

THAT by immemorial custom, part of the oath of office taken by the Portrieve, is to be true to the interest of the BISHOP OF OSSORY.

That for a long series of years, all elections of members of parliament have been held in the bishop's palace yard, and the other corporate meetings in his hall.

That the Burgesses are always elected on the recommendation of the BISHOP OF OSSORY.

That neither property, residence, or service, in the borough, is required of any freeman; and that hardly one inhabitant of the borough is at present a freeman.

“ That the influence of the bishop has always been so powerful, that all members of parliament, and burgesses, have been uniformly elected on his recommendation, without one instance to the contrary.

“ That the circumstances above-mentioned have given the Bishops of Ossory so much additional consequence, and obtained for them so much attention from government, that the bishops of that see, (with the exception of only two bishops, who died soon after their appointment,) for above a century past, *have been all translated* to much more eligible bishoprics.

“ That by the Union your memorialist is deprived of that influence and consequence which his predecessors always enjoyed, and from which they derived great advantage; and therefore considers himself entitled to claim any allowance which may be awarded for said borough ceasing to send members to parliament.”

APPENDIX, No. 2.

“THE REGENCY QUESTION.”

On the 5th February, 1789, the lord lieutenant, the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM, when opening the session, announced to the Irish parliament, the mental indisposition of George the Third, and his consequent unfitness for holding the reins of government. An attempt was made to procure an adjournment for a week, so as to gain time for the resolutions of the British parliament upon the subject to be sent over, and presented for concurrence. But this was defeated by 128 to 74, upon the ground of its being derogatory to the dignity of the Irish legislature. A motion to enter upon the business of supply was also lost; and all consideration of that subject put off for a week. Mr. GRATTAN moved that the house should meet on the succeeding Wednesday, on which day an address to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take the government of the empire as regent, during his father's illness, was moved by Mr. CONNOLLY, M. P. for Londonderry; and, after much opposition from the treasury bench, carried without a division.

In the Lords, similar proceedings took place upon the 16th instant; the address there being moved by LORD

CHARLEMONT, and carried with 23 dissentient voices. These twenty-three lords—of whom four were spiritual peers—entered protests against the measure, mainly upon the ground that an act was necessary before an address, to enable the powers of regent to be assumed. One peer, LORD GLANDORE, seems to have gone nearer the mark than the others, in a paragraph signed by himself alone. We shall, at the conclusion of our short recital of the proceedings in both parliaments into the regency-dispute, offer a few observations on these remarks of LORD GLANDORE.

.....To address his Royal Highness to accept the regency, before he is yet appointed in Great Britain, is inviting him to assume a power, which, under the actual and existing constitution of Ireland, he cannot exercise; inasmuch as by statute 10th of Henry VII., no bill can receive the royal assent here that is not certified from Great Britain, under the great seal of England, and until his Royal Highness shall have authority to direct the use of that great seal, he cannot discharge the functions of the regal office for Ireland. It is impossible, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, that any person should be regent of Ireland, who is not at the same time regent of Great Britain.

On Tuesday, the 19th, both houses waited on the lord lieutenant with their address, and requested him to transmit the same, which he declined doing, upon the general grounds stated in the protest of the twenty-three lords.

The day following, Mr. GRATTAN moved in the Commons, that the right honourable THOMAS CONNOLLY right honourable J. O'NEIL, right honourable W. B. PONSONBY, and J. STEWART, esquire, should be commissioners to present the address to his Royal Highness. The DUKE OF LEINSTER and the EARL OF CHARLEMONT were chosen by the lords to represent them upon the occasion.

Mr. GRATTAN subsequently moved and carried a motion, declaring that the two houses had thus discharged "an indispensable duty;" and another, conveying censure upon the viceroy. And upon the 25th of February, he succeeded in limiting the "supplies" to three months.

Meantime the commissioners arrived in London, and on the day following their arrival, viz. the 26th, presented their address to the Prince of Wales. The latter received them with many expressions of esteem and gratitude; but postponed a definite answer, until the result should be known of an apparent amendment in the king's condition. His Majesty's recovery rendered it unnecessary for the Prince to make his second answer other than a repetition of his complimentary expressions and thanks.

In the British parliament, the following proceedings took place upon this question.

On the 16th of December, 1788, Mr. PITT moved and carried three resolutions—the first, affirmatory of the fact, that the king's condition rendered him incapable of exercising the royal authority; the second, declaratory of the right of the parliament of *Great Britain* to supply the proper remedy in such a contingency; and the third, that they should consider that remedy. Upon the 30th of January following, both houses of parliament presented to the Prince of Wales a series of resolutions, appointing him regent; but with the limitations of restricting him from creating peers, from granting offices, save during his majesty's pleasure, and from making any grants of the king's real or personal estate. The care of the king's person to be vested in the queen; who was to have all authority over the household, and to be assisted by a special council. To these resolutions, fifty-five peers, including one bishop, were dissentient, on the grounds, that in these, and the former resolutions, the parliament was exceeding its constitutional powers—especially in the matter of the limitations—which they denounced as derogatory to the due dignity, influence, and respect, which should attach to the kingly office under all circumstances. The prince replied by consenting to take on him the office of regent, even under the recited limitations, being moved thereto by the urgency of the case.

The recovery of the king ended, of course, all proceed-

ings in England, as well as in Ireland, relative to a regency.

In the protest of Lord Glandore, which we have quoted, the objection founded on the act of 10th Henry VII., commonly called "Poyning's Law," is well put. That act, by a singular mistake of the men of '82, remained on the statute book unrepealed, though *modified* and little used. The position, too, laid down in the last sentence quoted, to the effect, "that no person could be regent of Ireland, who was not at the same time regent of Great Britain," was perfectly correct, according to the interpretation and spirit of the Irish act, 33 Henry VIII., c. 1, (A. D. 1542,) uniting the crown of the former country to that of the latter.

If the Irish parliament erred at all, it was in over-haste. It might, perhaps, have been better to have waited until the British parliament had committed the wilful error which they did commit, by their proposed limitations of the regent's authority. The argument against those limitations was irrefutable. The Prince of Wales being the king's natural and rightful successor, with full kingly powers, in case of physical death, should so have been considered to the fullest extent, in the then case of alienation of mind, or *mental death*.

This sound constitutional doctrine was what the Irish parliament contended for, with, perhaps, a too jealous haste. But the legislature of Great Britain, by the in fact illegal and unconstitutional restrictions they sought to impose on the prince, justified the anticipations which induced the Irish parliament to declare their opinion so promptly.

All future differences on such questions after the Repeal of the Union, can well be obviated, by the international arrangement to which we not only assent, but actually propose, viz.—that the regent *de facto* in England, shall be regent *de jure* in Ireland.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

THE

“IRISH LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE”

CONTROVERSY.

This old cause of bitter and woful dissension between the two countries, although *adhuc sub judice*, may now be said to be at length approaching a settlement. The events of the present time, and the next few months, must either establish finally and securely the claim of Ireland to legislate for herself, or throw her back, for many a weary day of wretchedness, into worse than her present state of legislative dependence upon Great Britain.

This controversy likely soon to be finally settled.

Knowing the present temper of the Irish people, and their admirable self-control, and patient, though indomitable determination, we feel a confident assurance that the first of the two results we mention, will be that which will come to pass.

Meantime it is well to have the history of the former struggles on this subject, fresh in our minds.

History of it.

The independence of the Irish parliament was in two ways assailed and restricted by England.

Two grievances of Ireland in this matter, viz. :
1st. par-

First, by the claim, as of right, made and asserted by the English parliament, to bind Ireland by their laws.

liamen-
tary inter-
ference by
England.
2nd. pri-
vy council
inter-
ference.

Next, by the operation of a law, which the influence of the English procured to be passed here, in Henry the Seventh's time—commonly called "Poyning's Law," from the name of the Lord Deputy of the day—by which law it was provided, that no act could be passed by the Irish parliament, save such as had first been submitted to the privy council of England, and by them returned as one which they considered a proper subject to entertain. If they disapproved of the proposed act, they had the power of strangling it without more ado.

Molyneux
wrote
against
the first.

It was against the first of these grievances that the celebrated Molyneux wrote his "Case of Ireland," published by him in 1698; and ordered by the British House of Commons to be burned by the common hangman, as an audacious interference with their rights—viz., with their invasions of the parliamentary rights of Ireland.

Brief
statement
of his
"Case."

Molyneux proves, mainly upon the high authority of Sir Edward Coke, the free and unfettered grant of parliaments to Ireland, by Henry the Second. In 1216, Henry the Third granted Magna Charta to Ireland in precisely the same terms as the English grant, and confirmed it on two occasions afterwards, doing, however, little more than extending a previous grant of his father, King John, in his capacity as Lord of Ireland. In the year 1253, his Queen, being regent during his temporary absence, addressed the "Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freemen, Citizens, and Burgesses of his land of Ireland," beseeching them for an aid of men and money against the king of Castile's hostile invasion of Gascony.

In the reign of Edward the Second,* several of the most important of the acts up to that time passed in the British parliament, were confirmed and adopted by act of the Irish

* A statute of the year 1356, the 31 Edward III., stat. 4, confirmatory of the grants of John and the two first Henrys, after declaring the liberty of the Irish church, goes on to authorize the calling together in parliament of the prelates and nobles of Ireland, and "*quidam de discretioribus et prioribus hominibus—ut nostræ et ipsius terræ (scil. Hiberniæ) negotia tractentur, deducantur, and fidehiter discutiantur; ET ETIAM TERMINENTUR.*"

parliament, and others referred for examination and consideration. It was then declared, that only such of them as should be allowed and published, were to stand as laws in Ireland; and an Irish act of the 10th Henry IV., followed by one in the 29th year of Henry VIth., expressly provided and enacted, that no English law should have force, unless adopted, allowed, and published by the Irish parliament. Molyneux remarks, that these statutes, if they do give evidence of attempts to rule Ireland by purely British statutes; yet, give equal evidence that the attempt was resisted, and all right to make it utterly disallowed. He proceeds to furnish several other instances of the necessity of adoption, by express enactments in Ireland, to give force to English statutes, allowing indeed, that English acts, merely declaratory of the common law of England, and not introductive of any new matter, had force, although not adopted specially as above. This, however, proceeded from the fact of their so being merely declaratory and explanatory of the common law of England, established in Ireland, under the grants and charters of Henry the Second, King John, and Henry the Third. The instances of invalidity, without re-enactment in Ireland, of English laws introducing new matter, he brings down to the time at which he wrote, viz., the year 1698; and they continued after his time.

He admits, that acts of the English parliament, prohibiting the plantation of tobacco, passed in the reign of Charles the Second, did bind Ireland, as did also other acts of the same reign, injuring and nearly destroying our trade with the English colonies and plantations, and prohibiting our wool export to any country but England: but he declares them innovations and grievous wrongs; and indignantly demands—(p. 65, of 1773)—“And shall proceedings of thirty-seven years standing (viz. from 1660 to 1698) be urged against a nation, to deprive them of the *rights and liberties* which they enjoyed five hundred years before, and which were invaded without and against their consent, and

His protest
against
the precedents
from
Charles
the Second's
reign.

from that to this have been constantly complained of? Let any English heart, that stands so justly in vindication of his own *rights* and *liberties*, answer this question, and I have done!"

No precedent from Cromwell's usurpations.

Failure in Molyneux's case.

The independence of the Irish parliament, that is, from any control of the British *parliament*, would then seem sufficiently proven up to the time of Charles the Second. Under Cromwell, indeed, acts had undoubtedly passed, which were held to bind Ireland—but they had that force merely by reason of his military possession of Ireland—and could not be called acts of an English parliament exclusively, there having been Irish representatives summoned to London, and sitting in the commons there.* But of whatever force such acts may have been under the commonwealth, they utterly ceased so to be, and were annulled on the restoration by the acts of settlement and explanation. Any precedent, therefore, given by them, was removed from the statute book by the English parliament themselves.

Molyneux found himself rather in a dilemma, when he came to consider what had occurred, in the way of British legislation for Ireland, in the reign of William the Third. We transcribe his words:

I am now arrived at our present days, under the happy government of his majesty king WILLIAM III., and I am sorry to

* In the present Lord Monteagle's speech, after that of Mr. O'Connell opening the Repeal debate of 1834, this circumstance of Irish members sitting in Cromwell's parliament was mentioned, in order to bring in a quotation of some remarks of Molyneux's on the subject, which Lord Monteagle considered an enlistment of that writer in the ranks of the supporters and favorers of the principles of a legislative Union. The words were—"If the parliament of England may bind Ireland, the people of Ireland ought to have their representatives in that parliament; and this, I believe, we should be willing enough to embrace, but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for."

So far, however, as a case, radically bad, could be advantaged by the theoretic opinions of any writer, the case for a Union must lose what advantage the foregoing may be considered to have given it, if the next words of Molyneux be taken, viz. :—

"This sending of representatives out of Ireland, was found in process of time to be *very troublesome and inconvenient*; (just our experience at the present day;) and this, we presume, was the reason, that afterwards, when times were more settled, we fell again into our old track, and regular course of parliaments in our own country." (p. 60, edition of 1773.)

reflect, that since the late revolution in these kingdoms, when the subjects of *England* have more strenuously than ever asserted their own *rights*, and the *liberty* of parliaments, it has pleased them to bear harder on their poor neighbours, than has ever yet been done in many ages foregoing. I am sure what was then done by that wise and just body of senators, was perfectly out of good will and kindness to us, under those miseries which our afflicted country of *Ireland* then suffered. But I fear some men have since that, made use of what was then done, to other purposes than at first intended. Let us now see what that was, and consider the circumstances under which it was done.

English
acts bind-
ing Ire-
land
since king
William's
reign.

In the year 1689, when most of the Protestant nobility, gentry, and clergy of *Ireland*, were driven out of that kingdom by the insolencies and barbarities of the *Irish Papists*, who were then in arms throughout the kingdom, and in all places of authority under king *James*, newly returned to them out of *France*; the only refuge we had to fly to, was *England*, where multitudes continued for many months, destitute of all manner of relief, but such as the charity of *England* afforded, which indeed was very munificent and never to be forgotten.

The Protestant clergy of *Ireland* being thus banished from their benefices, many of them accepted such small ecclesiastical promotions in *England* as the benevolence of well disposed persons presented them with. But this being directly contrary to a statute in this kingdom, in the 17 and 18 of *Charles II.* cap. 10, intituled 'An act for disabling of spiritual persons from holding benefices or other ecclesiastical dignities in *England* or *Wales*, and in *Ireland* at the same time,' the Protestant *Irish* clergy thought they could not be too secure in avoiding the penalty of the last mentioned act, and therefore apply'd themselves to the parliament of *England*, and obtained an act in the first year of king *William* and queen *Mary*, c. 28, intituled 'An act for the relief of the Protestant *Irish* clergy.' And this was the first attempt that was made for binding *Ireland* by an act in *England*, since his majesty's happy accession to the throne of these kingdoms.

Act for
the Pro-
testant
Irish
clergy.

Afterwards, in the same year, and same session, chap. 34, there passed an act in *England*, prohibiting all trade and commerce with *France*, both from *England* and *Ireland*. This also binds *Ireland*, but was during the heat of the war in that kingdom, when it was impossible to have a regular parliament therein, all being in the hands of the *Irish* papists. Neither do we complain of it, as hindering us from corresponding with the king's enemies: for it is the duty of all good subjects to abstain from that. But as *Scotland*, though the king's subjects, claims an exemption from all laws but what they assent to in parliament; so we think this our right also.

Act
against
com-
merce
with
France.

Act for
security
of the
Protest-
ants of
Ireland.

When the banished laity of *Ireland* observed the clergy thus careful to secure their properties, and provide for the worst as well as they could in that juncture, when no other means could be taken by a regular parliament in *Ireland*; they thought it likewise advisable for them to do something in relation to their concerns. And accordingly they obtained the *act for the better security and relief of their majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland*, 1 W. and M. ses. 2, c. 9, wherein king *James's Irish parliament* at *Dublin*, and all acts and attainders done by them, are declared *void*. 'Tis likewise thereby enacted, that no Protestant shall suffer any prejudice in his estate or office, by reason of his absence out of *Ireland* since *December, 25, 1685*, and that there should be a remittal of the king's quit-rents from the 25th of *December, 1688*, to the end of the war. Thus the laity thought themselves secure.

And we cannot wonder, that during the heat of a bloody war in this kingdom, when it was impossible to secure our estates and properties by a regular parliament of our own; we should have recourse to this means, as the only which then could be had. We concluded with ourselves, that when we had obtained these acts from the parliament in *England*, we had gone a great way in securing the like acts to be passed in a regular parliament in *Ireland*, whenever it should please God to re-establish us in our own country: for we well knew our own constitution under *Poyning's Law*, that no act could pass in the parliament of *Ireland*, till approved of by the king and privy council of *England*. And we knew likewise, that all the lords and others of his majesty's privy council in *England* are members of the lords or commons house of parliament there. And that by obtaining their assent to acts of parliament in favour of the *Irish* Protestants, they had in a manner pre-engaged their assent to the like bills when they should hereafter come before them as privy counsellors, in order to be regularly transmitted to the parliament of *Ireland*, there to be passed into laws of that kingdom. But instead of all this, to meet with another construction of what was done herein, and to have it pleaded against us as a precedent of our submission, and absolute acquiescence in the jurisdiction of the parliaments of *England* over this kingdom, is what we complain of as an invasion (we humbly conceive) of that *legislative right* which our parliament of *Ireland* claims within this kingdom.

Act ap-
pointing
new oaths.

The next act passed in the parliament of *England*, binding *Ireland*, that is, for *abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland*, and *appointing other oaths*, 3 and 4 *William and Mary*, c. 2. To this the parliament convened at *Dublin*, anno 1692, under lord *Sydney*, and that likewise anno 1695, under lord *Capel*, paid an entire obedience. And by this (it is alledged) we

have *given up our right*, if any we had, and for ever acknowledged our *subordination to the parliament of England*.

He goes on to deny the force of this reasoning, on the ground that this was a voluntary submission of our parliament; and that as to the laws passed in Westminster, they had been *applied for* by the Irish Protestants, and so acquired their binding force. Sectarianism compromised the legislative rights of Ireland.

His argument, however, must be said rather to *halt* upon this point. The Protestants of Ireland, at and after the sad and sanguinary civil war of 1688, were in something of the condition of the horse, in the old fable of the contest between him and the stag. The horse, eager for victory over his opponent, besought the aid of man to obtain that end, and accordingly suffered man to bridle and mount him. But when the desired victory was accomplished, he found that his ally relished too much his new position of control to abandon it, and so remained his master. Even thus the Irish Protestants called in and availed themselves of the aid of the British parliament; but when their objects were attained, and the contest ended favorably to their views, they, like the horse, found their new ally a master, and quite as vainly sought to shake off the control themselves had conceded.

This, therefore, is the weakest part of Molyneux's case. The true argument for denying the precedents which he vainly contests on the unstable grounds in the quotation just given from him, would have been, and is, that there was no national consent of Ireland to the parliamentary interference of England. The Protestants were but a portion of the nation. So far was the nation from concurring in and submitting to these invasions, that the parliament of James the Second, in Ireland, which sat in 1689, passed a law declaring that Ireland was a "distinct kingdom, always governed by his Majesty and his predecessors, according to the ancient customs, laws, and statutes thereof; and that the parliament of Ireland *alone* could make laws

But the Irish nation was not a consenting party.

to bind this kingdom." A clause of this act totally repealed Poyning's law.

The nation asserted its rights in 1688, as before in 1641 and 1642.

There is no doubt that that parliament of James the Second's, was *the national legislature*. It had the confidence of the bulk of the nation—the Catholics. Several Protestants had seats in the Commons; and in the Lords, as many peers, spiritual and temporal, of the Protestant religion, as chose to retain their allegiance to James, were freely admitted; and not only in person, but their proxies were allowed to be taken. The determined and unqualified manner in which this body asserted the legislative independence of Ireland, had had its example in the conduct of the Irish parliament in 1641. On the 26th July in that year, they resolved as follows:—

It is voted upon question, *nullo contradicente*, that the subjects of this H.M. kingdom, are a free people, and to be governed only according to the common law of England, and the statutes made and established by parliament in this kingdom of Ireland, and according to the lawful custom used in the same.—(*Commons' Journals*, July, 1641.)

Here is the full doctrine afterwards defended by Molyneux—namely, the allowance of the common law of England in Ireland, as established under the original grants and charters whereby the British constitution was established in Ireland; but a total denial of the force of any *statute law*, unless specially enacted by the Irish parliament itself.

In this parliament were both Protestants and Catholics, in about equal numbers, and it may, on the whole, considering the circumstances of the times, be said to have represented the nation and spoken the national voice.

The kind of parliament called together the year afterwards, by the confederated Catholics, in Kilkenny, which certainly spoke the sentiments of the bulk of the nation—viz., the Catholics—similarly asserted the legislative independence of their country.

Although we do not admit the force of the reasoning by which Molyneux would seek to get out of the dilemma in which the anti-nationality of his co-religionists in 1688-90 placed him, by their acceptance of English legislation; and although the sectarian and persecuting spirit of themselves and their successors for nearly a century afterwards, plunged Ireland deeper and deeper in social miseries, whose effects deeply furrow the face of society at the present day, yet there is no doubt that the Protestant parliament of Ireland did, and is entitled to credit for that it did, take up again, even so early as in 1690, and with stubbornness and constancy did maintain the claim and right of Ireland to be bound only by laws passed at home.

Even a
sectarian
Irish par-
liament
struggled
against
English
assump-
tion.

They, however, did not attempt so bold a flight as to resist the enforcement of Poyning's law. This had been done by the *national* parliaments of which we have spoken; but could only be done, as it had only been done, by means and force of the united voice of the nation—a condition of strength which the persecuting, penal law parliaments after 1690, did not and could not command.

We have before mentioned the nature of the restrictions of "Poyning's law," 10 Henry VII., c. 4, passed in 1495. Subsequent acts occasionally suspended or enforced it, until the 3rd and 4th year of Philip and Mary, which "*explained*," by rendering more stringent its provisions. Thus the right of the king, in his English council, to *alter* acts transmitted from Ireland was established, not to be again questioned; as also, that not only were the bills, for the consideration and passing of which the parliament was specially called together, to be first considered by the king as above, but that no bills should be introduced throughout the entire session but such as should have been so first considered by him.

"Poyning's law"
as enlarged
and extended.

This previous consideration included not only the power of *alteration*, but even of total *rejection* of a bill, at his pleasure and that of his English council. In the latter event, the Irish parliament could not, of course, proceed with the bill.

Mistakes
in the as-
sertion of
our rights
in 1782.

We are now approaching the notice of what was done in 1782. Glorious as the occurrences of that time have been rightly called, two mistakes were made by our legislature then. The first, in not insisting *at once* on a total and distinct renunciation, by the British parliament, of its usurped authority to pass laws binding Ireland; the second, by not totally abrogating Poyning's law, and returning to the old constitutional practice, (before the 10th Henry VII.,) of permitting no reference of their measures to the executive until passed in both houses, and then demanding the royal decision upon them, to be expressed in public.

Brief de-
tails of the
attempts
at self-as-
sertion by
the penal-
law parlia-
ments of
Ireland.

We shall have to refer more minutely to the proceedings in 1782 presently, and so shall not delay further here, from our previous intention of giving a few instances of what we are ready to call *patriotic stubbornness*, on the part of even the penal law parliaments of Ireland.

William's Irish parliament began their attempts at self-assertion, by the Commons rejecting, in 1690, a money bill, because it had not originated in their house. Shortly after, they proposed to re-enact specially for Ireland, four English statutes, which had been intended to bind Ireland without such re-enactment. It is true, that the heads of the bill for this purpose, having been, according to the forms of their slavery, transmitted to England, for consideration of the king in his council there, were rejected by him, at the instance of the English parliament, which not long after ordered Molyneux's "Case of Ireland" to be burnt by the common hangman. Still the attempt, though defeated, was practically a protest against England's usurpation.

In 1703, the Irish lords spiritedly and successfully resisted an attempt on the part of the upper house of Great Britain to interfere with their judicial authority, in the case of a decree made by them in favour of the Earl and Countess of Meath, dispossessed of certain lands in the county Tipperary, by order of the English lords in 1669, during the non-sitting of the Irish parliament.

In 1709, the commons rejected a money-bill, because it had been altered in England.

In 1719, the Irish lords again asserted their appellent jurisdiction, in the case of a Mr. Annesley, dispossessed by their order of certain lands in the county Kildare. On this occasion they sent a long address to the king, (Geo. I.) complaining of the conduct of the English lords, both in 1699 and in this case, in which the latter body had reversed their decision, and directed the barons of the Irish exchequer to order the sheriff of the county, Alexander Burrowes, to reinstate Mr. Annesley. The sheriff had spiritedly refused to obey their order, and demanded the protection of the Irish lords.

Their address was, as we have said, long, and went into much argument to prove their invaded rights. But it was met in England with the haughty contempt with which Irish claims have usually been there received—a contempt increased in this instance, by the knowledge that there was nothing to fear from the indignation of the Irish parliament—the parliament of a party dependent upon England for the upholding of their unchristian ascendancy.

To rid themselves for the future of the annoyances, even of humble remonstrances from such a quarter, the English government procured a law to be passed by their own parliament, entitled, “an act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain,” whereby, after declaring that the conduct of the Irish lords in the two cases mentioned, was “against law,” and denying their jurisdiction over the courts of justice in Ireland, it was further declared, “that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, and, of right, ought to be, subordinate and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain—and that the king’s majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of *Great Britain* in parliament assembled, had, hath, and *of right ought to have* full power and authority, to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland!”

England’s
bold act of
tyranny to
stop these
attempts.

After which, followed a provision annulling all proceedings of appeal before the Irish lords.

In 1729, the Irish parliament had the courage to refuse to vote the supplies for so long a period as twenty-one years, which they were then asked to do.

In 1751, they asserted their right of control over the surplus of the revenue.

Digression.
The contest between the crown and the Irish parliament as to disposal of surplus revenue.

Some more extended notice than a mere mention of this matter is not irrelevant to our subject; inasmuch as an efficient control over the public revenue is so essential an attribute of a parliament worthy of the name. There is, too, in the compilation of which this is one of the appendices, a point of considerable importance alluded to, which would otherwise require special notice of this question, as to the disposal of Irish surplus revenue. We allude to the pecuniary profligacy, so unreservedly and unsparingly charged against parliaments in Ireland, by those who would have us continue to submit our interests to English legislation. It may, therefore, be well to dispose of the matter here, once for all.

Lord North's remarks on the subject.

We will take even English authority on the subject. In the debate, in the English house of commons, (Monday, May 30th, 1785,) on the final consideration of the "commercial propositions" of that year, LORD NORTH, in speaking of the Irish revenue, gave the house the history of a contest relative to the latter, between the crown and the Irish parliament in 1751. He said, that the groundwork of the dispute had been laid immediately after the restoration of Charles the Second. The Cromwellian settlers at that time, in return for being secured, by Charles's act of settlement, and its explanation, in the forfeited lands, (of *Charles's own adherents in Ireland*,) settled upon the crown certain very important sources of revenue.

Those grants were so liberal, and so productive, that parliament ceased to be necessary there; and Charles the Second never held another in Ireland during his whole reign. The Irish felt the error they had been guilty of in settling

so great an income on the crown as rendered it independent of parliament ; and the hereditary revenue soon became an object of jealousy, not to say detestation, to the people. The debt contracted at the revolution afforded them an opportunity of proving this ; in providing for the payment of that debt, they laid on additional duties of customs and excise, but they would not impose them for more than two years, in order that the crown should be under the necessity of calling the parliament together again, before the expiration of the two years : this policy had the desired effect, and the commons have persevered in it from that day to this, with a difference of late, that the session being annual, the grants of money are only from one year to another. The hereditary revenue had, since the revolution, been a subject of jealousy and terror to the parliament, inasmuch that so far from endeavouring to improve it, they never missed an opportunity to throw charges upon it, to bear it down ; however, in 1751, there was in the exchequer of Ireland a surplus of 400,000*l.* ; this, instead of being matter of joy, was the cause of general consternation throughout the kingdom : it was feared the crown was become so rich, that it could pay off the debt that was then on the nation, and having no farther occasion for the annual grants, would call no more parliaments. There was a question in that year of disposing of this surplus of 400,000*l.* ; and a bill was brought into parliament for that purpose ; the preamble was to this effect : Whereas His Majesty has signified his consent, that the surplus now in the exchequer, &c. be disposed of," &c. The zealous patriots took fire at the word consent, though it had been inserted in two other acts before that on similar occasions : they said the King had a right to give his assent to that bill as well as to any other ; but that he had no right to give his consent ; which latter term implied, that the subject could not be so much as discussed, or made the substance of a bill, without the previous consent of the crown, as in the case of private grants. This was the ground of a great struggle in the commons, where the most formidable opposition ever known in Ireland, was made against this word consent : the opposition triumphed ; the word consent was struck out of the bill, which dropped on that account, its friends having no regard for it after it had lost the magical word. The triumph of opposition set Ireland in a blaze ; nothing but bonfires and illuminations were to be seen from one end of the kingdom to the other, and the glorious 122 (the numbers upon the winning side upon the division) was the first toast at every table.

On what followed, the author of that valuable work,

The lavishness of the Irish parliament caused by the encroachments of the crown.

“The Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered,” (Dublin, 1779,) thus remarks :—

They wished to avoid any future contest of that kind, and were flattered to grant the public money from enlarged views of national improvements. The making rivers navigable, the making and improving harbours, and the improvement of husbandry and other useful arts, were objects worthy of the representatives of the people; and had the faithfulness of the execution answered the goodness of the intention, the public would have had no reason to complain. Many of these grants prove the poverty of the country. There were not private stocks to carry on the projects of individuals, nor funds sufficient for incorporating and supporting companies, nor profits to be had by the undertakings sufficient to reimburse the money necessary to be expended. The commons, therefore, advanced the money for the benefit of the public; and it can never be supposed that they would have continued to do so for above twenty years, if they were not convinced that there were not funds in the hands of individuals sufficient to carry on these useful undertakings, nor trade enough in the kingdom to make adequate return to the adventurers.

The lavishness, therefore, of the expenditure of public money, by the Irish parliament, had its origin, at any rate, in a good and constitutional motive, and the encroaching and usurping spirit of the government is far more deserving of blame.

Strong circumstances of extenuation.

As to the application of those grants, if we consider the very small progress that sound ideas on the subject of stimulants to industry and commercial enterprise had made in any country at that time; and also that the Irish parliament was the parliament of a party, whose every evil tendency had been sedulously encouraged and fostered by England herself, for her own base purposes; and further, was one whose ancient constitution had, by several instances of most iniquitous abuse of prerogative by the crown, (from the time of James the First, who created 40 boroughs in one day, down to the monarch actually on the throne, George the Second,) been limited, grievously restricted, and corrupted. If we take these and other such circumstances into consideration, instead of exclaiming at

the profligacy of the Irish parliament, rather wonder at their making any attempt, however mistaken, to expend the money for the benefit of the country. Had the *really* profligate *English* parliament—that parliament that saddled so many hundreds of millions upon their country, under which she is groaning at the present day—ever found themselves in the same position of having a surplus to dispose of, the story would have been different; and little thought would have been shewn for any interests but those of the individuals composing that parliament themselves.

What would not the debt-incurring English parliament have done under such circumstances?

We now return to our immediate subject. It will be seen, that although the Irish legislature (speaking of it as a perpetual body) had allowed itself to be placed in a false position, and had further aided the views of England, by narrowing its own base, and depriving itself of the firm support of a whole nation, still the ground of the constitution was not altogether abandoned; but some struggle was made from time to time to prevent the encroachments of England from gaining the sanction of prescription and silent sufferance.

In matters of finance, the struggle succeeded better than in other points. We have noted three instances already. A fourth occurred in 1769, when the Irish Commons rejected a money-bill, “because it had originated in the Privy Council.”

A still more creditable achievement of theirs was their giving up the species of *life-right*, which, from a corruption of the constitution in Ireland, they had in the occupancy of their seats, (save in case of a dissolution by the king,) and passing a bill limiting the existence of a parliament to the modern term of seven years. The English Privy Council altered this bill, by substituting eight years, hoping that the circumstance of its being at all meddled with by them, would make the Irish Commons reject the bill; but the latter saw the trap, and had wisdom and patriotism enough to avoid it, and so passed the octennial

bill of 1767. We now come to the time when the effort at self-vindication was renewed under better auspices, and, so far as the encroachments of the English *parliament* were concerned, with complete though short-lived success.

In the article on "Commercial Injustices," which the reader will find in another part of this appendix, it is shewn how the legislative restrictions on our commerce and manufactures gradually became more and more galling, and their injurious operation even upon some English, as well as upon all Irish interests, more and more evident, until, in 1779, the moment of England's weakness, from her foreign disasters, was seized by the Irish parliament to bring her to a better sense, and make her consent to the removal of a considerable portion of those restrictions. It is also mentioned, that the satisfaction of Ireland was extreme, and that England was so imprudent as by acts of her own to cause a very speedy diminution of that satisfaction. Had she (as common worldly prudence would have advised) endeavoured rather to foster the new-born feeling, it is probable that the generous credulity of the Irish character might have suffered itself to be amused, and the national attention to be distracted from the immediate pursuit of legislative independence, until such time as, by a dexterous handling of the old causes of intestine division, the unwonted union among Irishmen might be broken up, and the old policy of "*divide et impera*" speedily rendered once more triumphant.

But, instead of a warning being taken from the compelled concessions of 1779-80, the spirit of arrogant aggression was rather the more excited in England by what then occurred. Ireland's gains at that time being considered little other than as so much taken from England, by a kind of successful rebellion. The interferences with the Irish mutiny act and sugar duties' bill (referred to in the article mentioned) were therefore resolved upon, and this unwise proceeding gave a fresh and powerful impulse to the new disposition towards self-assertion that had manifested itself in Ireland.

We have before alluded to the defects in what was done for Ireland in 1782. The right of England to *legislate* for Ireland was repudiated; but the controlling power given by Poyning's act, to the English Privy Council, was not really interfered with. As the best means of shewing not only the deeds of the time, but the opinions and arguments then used, we shall give extracts from the proceedings of the Irish parliament in that eventful year, after we notice the proceedings out of doors.

The Irish Commons having, in April, 1780, protested against Ireland's being bound by English legislation, their protest was received with general joy and approbation throughout this country. The year 1781 passing away without any indication on the part of England of her disposition to attend to this protest, the Irish will and determination, on the subject to which it referred, displayed itself early in the succeeding year, with a formidable strength and unanimity. The grand juries every where declared for Irish legislative independence, and their example was imitated by the mercantile body, the bar, the volunteer corps, &c., &c. The most celebrated of these meetings was that of the Dungannon Convention; a meeting, as it was described, of "The representatives of one hundred and forty-three Corps of Volunteers," &c., &c.

DUNGANNON CONVENTION.

At a meeting of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of Volunteers, of the province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, on Friday, the 15th day of February, 1782,

COLONEL WILLIAM IRVINE in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously—That a claim of any body of men, other than the KING, LORDS, and COMMONS OF IRELAND, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a GRIEVANCE.

Resolved unanimously—That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, (eleven to be a quorum,) be, and are hereby appointed a Committee 'til next general meeting, to act

for the volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province; viz.,

Lord Viset. Enniskillen	Major Charles Duffin
Col. Mervyn Archdall	Captain John Harvey
Col. Wm. Irvine	Captain Robert Campbell
Col. Robert M'Clintock	Captain Joseph Pollock
Col. John Ferguson	Captain Wad. Cunningham
Col. John Montgomery	Captain Francis Evans
Col. Charles Leslie	Captain John Cope
Col. Francis Lucas	Captain James Dawson
Col. Thomas M. Jones	Captain James Atcheson
Col. James Hamilton	Captain Daniel Eccles
Col. Andrew Thompson	Captain Thomas Dickson
Lieut. Col. C. Nesbitt	Captain David Bell
Lieut. Col. A. Stewart	Captain John Coulston
Major James Patterson	Captain Robert Black
Major Francis Dobbs	Rev. William Crawford
Major James M'Clintock	Mr. Robert Thompson.

Resolved (with two dissenting voices only, to this and the following Resolution)—That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

Resolved therefore—That as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow subjects; and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Signed, WM. IRVINE, Chairman.

In the Addendum to this article will be found many other documents of the same description, from the various bodies we have mentioned.

Having now to deal with the proceedings in parliament, we shall, as before intimated, proceed to give a sufficient abstract of the chief debates on legislative independence.

IRISH DEBATES.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY, 22, 1782.—VOL. I. PAGE 266.

Mr. Grattan's Motion for an Address to the King, upon Irish Independence.

MR. GRATTAN—After the ample discussion in this house, of the great question of right, the 19th April, 1780, and the uni-

versal reprobation of the assumption of the British parliament to bind this kingdom, then received, I had been silent on the subject, if that parliament, since that time, had not continued its tyrannical and unconstitutional assumption, by enacting laws to bind Ireland; as also a proclamation in the Irish Gazette, where the execution of a British statute is enforced. Measures that evidently show that the British nation, so far from relinquishing the claim of usurped authority in this kingdom, have still the same spirit of making laws for us, which they keep alive by renewing their claim on every occasion. These fresh instances of British usurpation, added to that disgraceful and unrepealed act, 6th of George I., makes it necessary at this time, for the parliament of Ireland to come to an explanation concerning its privileges, and the injured right of the nation. [Mr. G. here related several instances of British injustice to Ireland, from the act of Navigation to the present time.] And what are the boasted relaxations Britain has granted? The first, in 1778, as contemptible in principle as in effect; for after a bar of lawyers was brought to plead against Ireland in the English House of Commons, we were permitted to export everything except our manufactures. Their favour was an insult and aggravation to our misery. The second period was in 1779, when government abdicated the defence of Ireland, and Ireland appeared in arms. The minister now changed his tone—he glanced a temporary gleam of hope upon our shields—he gave us everything, but kept the power of taking it back—he retained a Mutiny bill and a Post-Office act.

The third period was a ministerial address of thanks, calculated to dissolve the Union of the people—it had its effect; when it was known that the strength of this house was dissolved, and that the glory of 1779 was no more, an order comes over to oppose on every occasion the latent claims of Ireland, to oppose an Irish Mutiny bill, to alter the Sugar bill. The reprobated measure of a perpetual Mutiny bill followed, but you have not done with it yet; you have stabbed your country, and the wound is festering. Emboldened by your dissolution, English acts binding Ireland were passed last winter.....I am for honourable tranquillity; but when I see an administration unable to make a blow against an enemy, tyrannize over Ireland, I am bound to exert every power to oppose it.

Ireland is in strength; she has acquired that strength by the weakness of England; for Ireland was saved when America was lost. When England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved; and when Charlestown was taken, the Mutiny and Sugar bills were altered. How necessary, therefore, to assert the rights of Ireland! Surely, you do not expect, like the Jews, redemption to come from heaven, if you do not help yourselves.

THE ADDRESS.

To assure his Majesty, that the people of Ireland are a *free people*. That the crown of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof. To assure his Majesty, that by our fundamental laws and franchises—laws and franchises which we, on the part of this nation, do claim and challenge as her birth-right—the subjects of this kingdom cannot be bound, affected, or obliged by any legislature, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of this his Majesty's realm of Ireland; nor is there any other body of men who have power or authority to make laws for the same.

To assure his Majesty, that his Majesty's subjects of Ireland conceive, that in this privilege is contained the very essence of their liberty, and that they tender it as their lives, and accordingly have with one voice declared and protested against the interposition of any other parliament in the legislation of this country.

To assure his Majesty, that we have seen with concern the parliament of Great Britain advance to make law for Ireland; and our anxiety is kept alive when we perceive the same parliament still persist in that claim, as may appear by recent British acts, which affect to bind Ireland, but to which the subjects of Ireland can pay no attention.

To assure his Majesty, that next to our liberties, we value our connexion with Great Britain, on which we conceive, at this time most particularly, the happiness of both kingdoms does depend, and which, as it is our most sincere wish, so shall it be our principal study to cultivate, and render perpetual.

That under this impression, we cannot suggest any means where such connection can be so much improved or strengthened, as by a renunciation of the claim of the British parliament to make law for Ireland; a claim useless for England, cruel to Ireland, and without any foundation in law.

After which, the question being put on the Attorney-General's motion to adjourn the consideration of the address to the first of August, a division ensued,

Ayes,	...	...	137
Noes,	...	...	68.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1782—VOL. I. PAGE 279.

Mr. FLOOD, in a short but eloquent speech, stated the Rights of Ireland, and then moved—

Resolved—That the members of this house are the only representatives of the people of Ireland.

Resolved—That the consent of the Commons is indispensably necessary to render any statute binding.

Rejected, 137 to 76.

Recess, from 14th March to 16th April, 1782.

During this recess a total change took place in the *British Ministry*. Mr. EDEN, Secretary to LORD CARLISLE, went to London* with his Excellency's resignation of the lieutenancy of this kingdom. On the 14th of April, his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND arrived in Dublin, and immediately took upon him the government of this kingdom.

TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1782—VOL. I. PAGE 332.

The Right Honorable JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON, principal Secretary of State in Ireland, announced a message from the Lord Lieutenant, "that his grace had it in command to inform this house, that his Majesty being concerned to find discontents and jealousies prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country, upon matters of great importance, recommends it to this house to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland." Mr. HUTCHINSON said he could not avoid congratulating his country on this message, and begged to say a few words, not as an officer of the crown, but as a gentleman of the country. As to the right of this kingdom to be bound by no other laws but those made by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, he had always asserted it from the seat of judicature as a judge, and in this house as a representative of the people. He should be glad that every man in Great Britain understood what every man understood here, that the claim was not new, it was as old as the invasion of the right.

VOL. I. PAGE 239.

Mr. GRATTAN then moved, which was resolved *nem. con.* that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his

* He there suddenly moved in the House of Commons the Repeal of the 6 Geo. I., but had to withdraw it.

Majesty the thanks of this house, for his most gracious message to this house, signified by his grace the Lord Lieutenant.

To assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland.

That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies; to assure his Majesty, that his subjects of Ireland are a free people; that the crown of Ireland is an imperial one, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatever in this country save only the parliament of Ireland. To assure his Majesty that we humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists—a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but WITH OUR LIVES.

To assure his Majesty that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an act entitled, "an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland;" an act containing matters entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies of this kingdom.

To assure his Majesty that his Majesty's commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty, under the great seal of Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the councils, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

To assure his Majesty that an act entitled, "an act for the better accommodation of his Majesty's forces," being unlimited in its duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

That we have submitted these principal causes of discontent and jealousy in Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a

chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see, with satisfaction, his Majesty has adopted.

That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings in this country, founded as they are in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

And we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.

Those resolutions passed *nem. con.*

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1782—VOL. I. PAGE 352-4.

The Attorney-General (Mr. SCOTT) said, amongst other things, he did, consequently, as a lawyer, a faithful servant to the crown, a well-wisher to both countries, and an honest Irishman, in the most unqualified, unlimited, and explicit manner, declare his opinion—*That Great Britain has no right whatsoever to bind this country by any law.* If the tenure of his office was thought to be the supporting of opinions or doctrines injurious to the undoubted rights of Ireland, he held it to be an infamous tenure; and if the parliament of Great Britain were determined to be lords of Ireland, he had no intention to be their villain, in contributing to it.

MONDAY, MAY 27, 1782—VOL. I. PAGE 354.

Speech of the Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant.

My Lords and Gentlemen—It gives me the utmost satisfaction to find myself enabled, by the magnanimity of the King, and the wisdom of the parliament of Great Britain, to assure you that immediate attention has been paid to your representations, and that the British legislature have concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in your late addresses to the throne.....
.....These benevolent intentions of his Majesty, and the willingness of his parliament of Great Britain to second his gracious purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever.

The good faith, the generosity, the honour of this nation afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding disposition on your part to promote and perpetuate the harmony, the stability, and the glory of the empire.

The things so graciously offered by our Sovereign, are the *modification* of Poyning's law, and not only the abridgment of the Mutiny bill, in point of *duration*, but the formation of it on the model of the English mutiny bill, and prefacing it with a declaration of right.

After the speech was read,

Mr. GRATTAN called the attention of the house to the candid manner in which the address has been answered by the Lord Lieutenant.

As Great Britain and her ministers have unconditionally agreed to the demands of Ireland, I think the spirit of the nation is called upon to make an unconditional grant to England.

The sea is the element which nature points as the scene of British glory. It is there we can most effectually assist her. Twenty thousand seamen would be a noble support, and we who have been squandering the public money in all the waste of blind extravagance, cannot surely now deem 100,000*l.* too large a sum, when applied to the common defence of the empire. The sum is trifling, but the assistance of 20,000 Irishmen would be great; and gentlemen will now, when they retire to their different counties, have a full opportunity in assisting to raise those men, and of manifesting their zeal for the common cause of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. GRATTAN then moved an address, which after reciting the various points claimed and conceded, went on—

“That gratified in those particulars, we do assure his Majesty, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist which can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so may she rely on our affection.

“That we remember, and do repeat our determination, to stand and fall with the British nation.”

The Recorder said, he rose to express his gratitude at the present event. The address did the mover honor, and had his concurrence in every point but one.

THURSDAY, JUNE 6TH, 1782.—VOL. I. PAGE 279.

*In committee on the Bill for modifying Poyning's Law,
Friday, June 7th, 1782.*

Mr. FLOOD said, I oppose this bill, because that under it, it is scarcely possible for parliament to sit at all. By this bill

the lord lieutenant and council are required to certify to England such bills, and no other, as have passed both houses of parliament here. By Poyning's law, which remains unrepealed, parliament cannot sit without a license from his Majesty. The privy council cannot apply for a license till they have some bill ready to certify. This may, therefore, be called an act to prevent the meeting of parliaments. I hope this session may be long, for when this bill passes, it may never be succeeded by another.

This bill was proposed twenty years ago, when parliament was weak and impotent; it was then rejected with disdain, and will you now—when you have your constitution in your hands—WHEN YOU HAVE YOUR CONSTITUTION IN YOUR ARMS—will you now accept of such a humiliating condition, and disgrace the cause of your country by such a pitiful expedient. For my own part, though I have always held that Poyning's law, properly explained according to its true construction, was a sufficient guard to our constitution, yet, I am willing to give up my private opinion. Let the constitution be settled—I care not by whom. I say the Privy Council have now a power of originating bills. Is it contradicted?—it ought to be taken away—it is not. Suppose then, an arbitrary chief governor, and a venal parliament, (if no such thing ever existed, then I am wrong in the supposition,) suppose they should say, our power of originating bills is not taken away, yours is. And suppose, by an evasion, not very uncommon, they should say, though our power of transmitting any *bills* that have not passed both houses is taken away, yet our power of transmitting HEADS OF BILLS is not—it is only bills. To what end then have ye struggled; if you leave your constitution liable to greater injuries than it sustained before.

It has been objected, that a repeal of Poyning's law would be going beyond the terms of the address, but this is not logic neither, for the bill at present before us, does itself outstep the modesty of the address.

Some men, it is true, may do anything, whilst others are circumscribed in very narrow limits. But will you not restore your constitution to what it was before Poyning's law. Your BILLS were transmitted to the king, engrossed on parchment under the great seal of Ireland, and the royal assent or dissent was given to them *in open parliament*.

Indeed, when you had given up your dignity, wrote them on paper, and called them by the pitiful name of HEADS OF BILLS, it is no wonder they should drop or be smothered in the English council, or any where else. But now that you are asserting your constitution, and declaring that your bills go forward to the king from both houses, under the great seal of Ireland, will you

not also say that they shall also come back from the king, and be publicly negatived or approved.

I will now propose an amendment to the bill, by inserting after the word "Whereas," the word "doubts have arisen on the construction of the law, commonly called Poyning's law, and of the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, explanatory thereof: Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said law of Poynings, and the said 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, be and stand repealed, save only as follows, that is to say, be it enacted, that no parliament shall be holden in this kingdom, until a license for that purpose be had and obtained from his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal of Great Britain.

"And that all bills, considerations, causes, ordinances, tenors, and provisions of either or both houses of parliament, shall be of right certified to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, unaltered, under the great seal of Ireland, by the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, and council of this kingdom for the time being, and that such bills, and no others, being returned unaltered, under the great seal of Great Britain, shall be capable of receiving the royal assent or dissent in parliament, according to his majesty's disposition, either for giving his assent or dissent to the same respectively."

And now, Mr. Speaker, if I have a feeling in the inmost pulse in my heart, it is that which tells me that if, after twenty years service, I should pass this question by negligently, I should be a base betrayer of my country—it is that which tells me that the whole earth does not contain a bribe sufficient to make me trifle with the liberties of this land. I do, therefore, wish to subscribe my name to what I now propose, to have them handed down together to posterity, that posterity may know that there was, at least, *one man*, who disapproved of the temporising bill now before the house, a bill that future parliaments, if they have the power, WILL REFORM—if they have not, with tears will DEPLORE.....

Mr. YELVERTON declared, that when he introduced the bill, it was to take away every grievance which had been complained of: in his own apprehension that end was answered. He had no objections, however, to terms more amplified. He then moved, that to prevent delays in the summoning of parliaments, "be it further enacted, that no bill shall be certified into Great Britain, as a cause, or consideration for holding a parliament in this kingdom, although no such bill shall have been certified previous to the meeting thereof."

Mr. FLOOD—It has been said, that the word Repeal would

alarm England, and therefore, this mode of altering the law of Poynings by implication is adopted. Is this a time to fear to speak out in fair and open language, after our Sovereign has invited us to state our grievances with a certainty of redress. Have we not demanded a repeal of that law (the 6th of Geo. I.) by which England pretended to bind this country; and shall we now fear to regulate our own constitution, and leave it in a monstrous chaos of things declared and things implied.

We had two hundred years of experience of the evil of leaving a possibility of infringing the constitution—other *Straffords* may arise, it is our business to guard against them. The octennial bill was altered, yet you passed it. And what say you to the mutiny bill, in which you were the suicides of your own constitution—just at the moment you had accomplished your own purpose and the desires of the nation, you pitifully abandoned all, and with repenting hand abolished your own works.

I am convinced that nothing will content Ireland but a constitution similar to that of England. You might as well say, that having for one hundred years been deprived of the final judication, it ought not now be restored. But I know no length of time that can run against the constitution.

The question being at length put, that the bill do pass, with Mr. Yelverton's amendment, was agreed to without a division.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1782.—VOL. 1, PAGE 406.

Further Debate on the Bill for Repealing 6 Geo. I.

Mr. FLOOD said—Nothing ever was more judicious than the conduct of Great Britain on this occasion. She was so embarrassed abroad, and you were so strong at home, that she could not deny the repeal of the declaratory law. Yet it must ever be her wish to retain the principle of it, because it is the principle of power, which no nation has ever relinquished while it could maintain it. What then has she done? By seeming to yield unconditionally to you, she seized on the generous credulity of your nature, and took full advantage of a change in her own administration. Her first step was bold, in order to strike your imaginations with something that seemed to be decisive. She resolved that the declaratory law ought to be repealed. She did not say, however, that it ought to be repealed as having been a false and erroneous declaration of law. Far from it; not a man in the British parliament held such an idea. The very mover and seconder of the resolution said the contrary.

It is the first principle of law, that a declaratory act only declares the law to be what it was before—that is to say, that it only declares, and that it does not alter the law. What follows? That as making a declaratory act does not alter law, so neither can the mere unmaking of such an act alter law; or in other words, it follows, that if a declaratory act is not pronounced to have been an erroneous declaration of law, the bare repeal of it can do no other than leave the law in that state in which the declaratory act did declare it to have been before such declaratory act passed.

It was on this question, as to whether the English act, 6th Geo. I. should simply be repealed, or an entire renunciation be demanded from England, of her assumption to legislate for Ireland, that Mr. GRATTAN made his great and only mistake. He estimated the intentions of England too generously, and his opinions prevailed with the house.

However, that very year was not over, when what the Irish parliament in their moderation would not ask, the English parliament in their fear, set about conceding. On the 19th December, 1782, notice was taken in the latter body of an Irish cause having been decided in the King's Bench in England. Mr. SECRETARY TOWNSHEND answered that it was an *old* cause—eighteen years in that court—and that there would be no more. Next day it was declared that the lord lieutenant had written from Ireland (in a fright) on the subject, and the secretary gave notice for the 22nd of January, 1783, that he would bring in a bill, the object of which he thus stated, when bringing it forward:—

To lull all jealousies—to lay all doubts and disputes about constitutional points fast asleep, so that they might never wake again—was the object he had in view in the motion he was going to make; and he hoped that Ireland would rest satisfied, that “in no change of affairs would England ever retract that faith, which in his opinion she had pledged, when she repealed the 6 Geo. I. fully to surrender all legislative and judicial authority over Ireland.

Late in the debate a Mr. Macdonald asked, was there

any supposable case, wherein, after the passing of this bill, the legislature of Great Britain could exercise a jurisdiction over Ireland.

Mr. Secretary Townshend said there was none; that the idea was given up in all cases whatsoever.

The following was the title of the bill, and subjoined is its chief clause :—

23 GEO. III. CAP. 28.

An act for preventing and removing all doubts which have arisen or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature, and to prevent appeals being heard in Great Britain.

Be it enacted—That the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the parliament of that kingdom in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in his Majesty's courts therein, *finally and without appeal* from thence, shall be and is hereby declared to be established and ascertained FOR EVER, and *shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable*.

The words "FOR EVER" in the foregoing clause, were on special motion adopted instead of "*for the future*," being considered more comprehensive and decided.

The only subsisting restrictions on Irish legislative independence, after the passing of the measures of 1782 and 1783, were those under what was called the "*modification*" of Poyning's law. The author of "*Collectanea Politica*" thus describes them :—

It is true, that both Lords and Commons have attempted, and gained an approach towards their ancient rights of beginning bills, not in that name, but under the name of *heads of bills*, to be transmitted to the council; but as the council are the first beginners of *acts of parliament*, they have assumed a power of modelling these also. The legislature of *Ireland* is, therefore, very complicated. First, the Privy Council of *Ireland*, who, though they may take the hint from the Lords or Commons, frame the bill; next, the King and council of *England*, who have a power of alteration, and really make it a bill unalterable, by sending it under the great seal of *England*;

then the two Houses of Lords and Commons, who must agree in the whole, or reject the whole; and, if it passes all these, it is presented to the king for his assent; which, indeed, is but nominal, as it was before obtained.

This was the state of things up to the Union. That measure, it is needless to say, put an end to our legislative independence. Fraud, force, perjury, corruption, and bloodshed were the means by which the Union was effected—and they have, one or other, been constantly employed in its maintainance ever since. All these iniquitous means are now, however, fast failing and breaking down; and the Irish popular mind is becoming every day more and more united, concentrated, and irresistible in its mighty but peaceful onward movement towards the glorious achievement of the full measure of our ancient liberties of rights.

We now subjoin the Addendum spoken of at page 84.

ADDENDUM.

DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

"At a meeting of the Corps of the Dublin Volunteers, at the Eagle, Eustace-street, on Friday, the 1st March, 1782,

"His Grace the DUKE OF LEINSTER in the Chair.

"Resolved—That Great Britain and Ireland are, and ought to be, inseparably connected, by being under the dominion of the same King, and enjoying equal liberty and similar constitutions.

"That it is the duty of every good citizen, to maintain the connexion of the two countries, and the freedom and independence of this kingdom.

"That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland ONLY, are competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm; and that we will not obey, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes.

"Signed by order,

"JOHN WILLIAMS, Secretary."

LAWYERS' CORPS, 28th FEBRUARY, 1782.

"COL. EDWARD WESTBY in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously—That the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

"Signed by order,

"SAMUEL ADAMS, Secretary."

SLANE VOLUNTEERS.

"At a Meeting of the Corps of Volunteers, of the Barony of Slane, County Meath, assembled on their Parade, 3rd March, 1782, the following Resolution was unanimously agreed to—

"Resolved—That no power on earth can make laws to bind the people of this land, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

"Signed by order,

"FRANCIS ADAMS, Secretary."

WATERFORD VOLUNTEERS.

"At a full Meeting of the different Volunteer Corps of the City of Waterford, the Cavalry, Artillery, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, assembled by public notice, on the 3rd day of March, 1782,

"CAPTAIN HANNIBAL WM. DOBBYN in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously—That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom."

Westmeath resolutions, signed by the Sheriff, WILLIAM FETHERSTONE, Esq.; by the Foreman of the Grand Jury, CUTHBERT FETHERSTONE, Esq.; by LORD DELVIN, the father of the present unhappy LORD WESTMEATH; and by the leading Protestant gentry of the county—

“WESTMEATH GRAND JURY.

“We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Westmeath, at a General Assizes held at Mullingar, in and for said County, on Monday, the 4th day of March, 1782,

“Resolved unanimously—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“That the numerous absentees of this kingdom, from the immense sums annually remitted to them, are highly detrimental, and very much contribute to the impoverishing the NATION—and that the above EVIL is every day increasing, even to an alarming degree.

“That a tax upon absentees would very much contribute to the prosperity, honour, and happiness of this kingdom, and that the said tax should be appropriated to national purposes.

“That we consider the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

“That we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that we conceive it to be a measure fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.”

The following pithy resolutions were passed by the

INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

“At a quarterly Meeting of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, held at the Eagle, in Bustace-street, Dublin, on Tuesday, 5th March, 1782,

“MAJOR CANNIB in the Chair.

“Whereas, the people of Ireland are a free people, with a parliament of their own, to whose authority alone they are subject: now we, the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, associated for the defence of the realm, the law, and the constitution, do agree unanimously to the following resolutions, for the rule of our conduct, viz.—

“Resolved—That we do not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any parliament, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

“Resolved—That we will in every capacity, oppose the execution of any statute imposed on us by the pretended authority of the British parliament.

“Resolved—That we will support with our lives and fortunes the parliament of Ireland, in declaring and asserting its rights.

“Signed by order,

“S. CANNIER, Chairman.”

This is the resolution of a Meeting of the entire County of Meath, duly convened by the High Sheriff, and at which he presided.

“COUNTY OF MEATH.

“At a Meeting of the Grand Jury and Freeholders of the County of Meath, at Trim, convened by the Sheriff, on Thursday the 7th March, 1782, the following Resolution was unanimously agreed to :—

“Resolved—That no power on earth can make laws to bind the people of this land, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

“HAM. GORGES, Sheriff.”

We next give an extract from the resolutions passed at Belfast, on the 7th of March, 1782.

“TOWN HOUSE, BELFAST,

“March 7th, 1782.

“At a very numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants, called by a public notice, dated the 4th inst. and signed by twenty-five of the principal Inhabitants,

“THOMAS SINCLAIR, Esq. in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That if any Irishman has been or shall be hardy enough to assert, directly or indirectly, that any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland had, have, or ought to have, a right to make laws to bind this realm, in any case whatsoever, every such man insults the majesty of the king of Ireland, the dignity of its parliament, and the whole body of its people; is an enemy to this kingdom, and ought to be reprobated as such, by every friend of Ireland.

“Resolved unanimously—That it be, and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to all the inhabitants of this province, to assemble in their several towns and parishes, to deliberate on those matters, and, in case they shall approve thereof, to

enter into similar Associations, as we are fully convinced that nothing is now wanting to establish and secure the freedom and prosperity of Ireland, but the *avowed union of its people*.

“THOMAS SINCLAIR, Chairman.”

“COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

“*At a Meeting of the Grand Jury of said County, at the General Assizes, held at Blackfriars, in said County, the 8th day of March, 1782,*

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the **ONLY** power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“By order of the Grand Jury,

“JOHN BEKESFORD, Foreman.”

The next is from Connaught—

“GORT LIGHT DRAGOONS.

“*At a full Meeting of the Gort Light Dragoons, the 9th March, 1782, pursuant to notice.*

“MAJOR JAMES GALBRAITH, in the Chair.

“Resolved—That it is now very expedient, and we conceive the people of this country are called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the **ONLY** power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“Signed by order,

“JAMES O’FLANAGAN, Secretary.”

The next is from Wexford—

“WEXFORD INDEPENDENTS.

“*At full a Meeting of the Wexford Independent Corps, on Friday the 8th March, 1782,*

“Resolved unanimously—That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the **ONLY** power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“WM. HUGHES, Adjutant.”

We return again to

“ULSTER.

“At a Meeting of the True Blue Volunteers of Londonderry, at the Town Hall, on Monday, the 11th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions were agreed to.

“CAPTAIN WILLIAM LECKY, in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously—That if any Irishman has been, or shall be, hardy enough to assert, that any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had, have, or ought to have, a right to make laws to bind this realm, in any case whatsoever, every such man insults the Majesty of the King of Ireland, the dignity of its parliament, and the whole body of its people; is an enemy to this kingdom, and ought to be reprobated as such, by every friend of Ireland.

“WILLIAM LECKY, Chairman.”

The next extract is from a meeting in Galway.

“CLANRICARDE CAVALRY.

“At a Meeting of the Clanricarde Cavalry, at Loughrea, the 12th day of March, 1782.

“COLONEL PETER DALY, in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“Signed by order,

“CHARLES KELLY, Sec.”

Resolutions signed by HOPTON SCOTT, Esq., the High Sheriff, by the Honourable JOHN STRATFORD, the Foreman, Honourable BENJAMIN O'NEILL STRATFORD, Sir JAMES TYNTE, Bart., and by the rest of the Grand Jury of the

“COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

“We the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Wicklow, at a General Assizes held at Wicklow, in and for said County, on Tuesday the 12th day of March, 1782,

“HONOURABLE JOHN STRATFORD, in the Chair,

" Resolved unanimously.—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY constitutional power competent to bind this kingdom."

" COUNTY OF CAVAN.

" *At a Meeting at large of the County of Cavan, convened at the Requisition of the High Sheriff, at Cavan, on Wednesday, March the 13th, 1782, the following Declaration was unanimously agreed to.*

" We declare, that we will pay obedience to those laws ONLY, which are made by our own legislature, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland: as the very terms of our original compact with Great Britain are, that we shall possess and exercise the full enjoyment of the British Constitution. As external greatness and constitutional extension were the objects of Great Britain in that compact: as external security and constitutional liberty were the objects of Ireland;—whatever leads to separation on the part of the latter, or infringement on the part of the former, is a violation to both.

" As we feel ourselves, equally with Great Britain, bound by every treaty of the King, we feel ourselves, equally with Great Britain, entitled to every benefit derived from them. We therefore claim, as free and equal advantages of trade and commerce with every nation, as Great Britain herself enjoys; and we pledge ourselves to our country and to each other, to exert every constitutional means to support this our solemn declaration.

" Signed by order,

" GEORGE MONTGOMERY, Chairman."

" GOLDSMITHS' CORPS,

" Commanded by the Right Hon. the Earl of CHARLEMONT,

" *Associated in defence of this Kingdom, and its natural Rights, have unanimously agreed to the following Resolutions:*

" Resolved—That we will not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any parliament, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every capacity, support them with our lives and fortunes, in asserting our rights, against any pretended authority of the British parliament.

" Signed by order,

" J. HARDY, Secretary."

" CONNAUGHT VOLUNTEERS.

" At a Meeting of the Delegates from 59 Volunteer Corps of the Province of Connaught, at Ballinasloe, on Friday the 15th of March, 1782,

" The EARL OF CLANRICARDE in the Chair.

" The following Resolutions were entered into unanimously :

" Resolved—That no power on earth has a right to make laws to bind this kingdom, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland ; and that we will resist with our lives and fortunes, the execution of any other laws ; as we consider, to be governed by a foreign legislature, over which we have no controul—ABSOLUTE SLAVERY.

" Resolved—That we are perfectly convinced, there is not a man in this kingdom, who entertains a wish so ruinous to the prosperity of both nations ; on the contrary, we declare for ourselves, and we have the fullest conviction of its being the universal sentiment of the People of Ireland, that the present measures are intended to remove every object of jealousy, that we may clasp our sister nation to our bosom, and cement an indissoluble union between us ;—attached to her by every tie of interest and affection that cements nations, surrounded as she is by a host of enemies, we are resolved to share her liberty and share her fate.

" Signed by order,

" JAMES JOICE, Secretary."

" COUNTY OF LEITRIM.

" At a Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Leitrim, at Carrick-on-Shannon, convened by the High Sheriff of said County, on Saturday the 16th of March, 1782, the following Resolution was unanimously agreed to—

" Resolved unanimously—That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

" Signed,

" PATRICK CULLEN, Sheriff."

COUNTY OF KILDARE—ATHY VOLUNTEERS.

" At a full Meeting of the Athy Volunteers, March 17th, 1782.

" CAPTAIN DAKER in the Chair,

"The following Resolution was unanimously agreed to—

"Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, ONLY, are competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

"Signed by order,

"THOMAS HAYES, Secretary."

*** COUNTY WATERFORD MEETING.**

"At a numerous Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Waterford, assembled at Dungan, on Monday, the 18th of March, 1782, pursuant to notice given by the High Sheriff for that purpose.

"ROBERT UNIACKE, Esq. High Sheriff, in the Chair.

"Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

"ROBERT UNIACKE, Sheriff."

Let Irishmen see how the County of Fermanagh spoke out in those days—

"COUNTY FERMANAGH GRAND JURY.

"We, the Grand Jury of the county of Fermanagh, being constitutionally assembled at the present Assizes, held for the county of Fermanagh, at Enniskillen, this 18th day of March, 1782, think ourselves called upon at this interesting moment to make our solemn declarations relative to the rights and liberties of Ireland.

"We pledge ourselves to this our country, that we never will pay obedience to any law, made, or to be made, to bind Ireland, except those laws which are and shall be made by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

"Signed by order,

"ARTHUR COLE HAMILTON, Foreman."

"LURGAN, MARCH 18TH, 1782.

"At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Lurgan, and its neighbourhood, convened by public notice at the Church,

"ADAM CUPPAGE, Esq. in the Chair,

"The following Resolutions were unanimously entered into—

"First—That the present alarming crisis calls on every man publically and unequivocally to declare his sentiments relative to the rights of this kingdom.

"Second—That we are sensible of our interests being inseparable from those of Great Britain; but that we do not hold ourselves bound by, or amenable to any statutes, except such as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled.

"Signed by order,

"RICHARD EUSTACE, Secretary."

"At a general Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city of Dublin, convened by the High Sheriffs, at the Tholsel, on Tuesday the 19th March, 1782.

"JAMES CAMPBELL and DAVID DICK, Esqrs. in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to—

"To Sir SAMUEL BRADSTREET, Bart. and TRAVERS HARTLEY, Esq., Representatives in parliament for the city of Dublin.

"GENTLEMEN,

"As men justly entitled to, and firmly resolved to obtain a free constitution, we require you, our trustees, to exert yourselves in the most strenuous manner, to procure an unequivocal declaration—that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this country.

"And we solemnly pledge ourselves to you and to our country, that we will support the representatives of the people at the risk of our lives and fortunes, in every constitutional measure which may be pursued for the attainment of this great national object. Be assured, gentlemen, that your zeal upon this occasion, will insure you a continuance of our esteem and regard.

*"JAMES CAMPBELL, } Sheriffs."
"DAVID DICK, }*

"SKREEN VOLUNTEERS.

"Skreen Corps of Dragoons, or Mounted Infantry—

March 20th, 1782.

COLONEL J. DELLON, in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously—That no power on earth is competent to make laws to bind Ireland, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will in every instance uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes or laws, except such as are made by the authority above mentioned.

"Signed by order,

"JOHN WILKINSON, Secretary."

"BALTINGLASS MEETING.

"*At a Meeting of Delegates assembled at Baltinglass, pursuant to public notice, on the 20th March, 1782.*

The Earl of ALDBOROUGH in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to—

"Resolved—That we are determined to resist with our lives and fortunes, the operation of any law that is dictated by a FOREIGN legislature, as we know, and will acknowledge no other but that of the King of Great Britain, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

"That being united to the imperial crown of Great Britain, and particularly with her in every calamitous event, so likewise we consider ourselves entitled to share in every fortuitous circumstance or prosperity that can attend her—to the same rights and freedom of trade, without which jealousies must ever subsist between the sister kingdoms; for unless our constitution stands on the same basis, it is impossible our interests should, as we sincerely wish, be inseparably connected and permanent.

"ALDBOROUGH, Chairman."

"BIRR MEETING.

"*At a Meeting of Delegates from seventeen Corps of Volunteers, assembled at Birr, the 20th March, 1782.*

"SIR WM. PARSONS, Baronet, in the Chair.

"Resolved—That Ireland is an independent kingdom, and can only be bound by laws enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

"Signed by order,

"THOMAS BERRY, Secretary."

“ MEATH VOLUNTEERS.

“At a Meeting of Delegates from the Volunteer Corps of the county of Meath, at Trim, March 21st, 1782, convened at the requisition of Colonels Rowley and Lowther, who were both present—

The EARL of MORNINGTON in the Chair.

“Resolved—That we will in every capacity and situation of life, co-operate with our fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, the Ulster Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon, in all constitutional efforts towards a redress of the grievances, and an establishment of the rights of Ireland.

“Resolved—That a common participation in every advantage of the British constitution, being not only the unalienable right of Ireland, but also the sole tie which can attach the interests and affections of this kingdom to Great Britain, it were equally injurious to the generosity and wisdom of the British character, to suppose that our sister country can look with a jealous eye upon that truly constitutional spirit, which now so happily pervades Ireland; a spirit which, by promoting a temperate and seasonable assertion of the freedom of this kingdom, tends to secure the union, strength, and honorable tranquillity of the British empire.

“MORNINGTON, Chairman.”

“ KILKENNY INDEPENDENTS.

“At a Meeting of the five companies of Kilkenny Independents, held the 22nd day of Murch, 1782.

MAJOR ROCHE in the Chair.

“The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published.

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“Resolved—That we do solemnly pledge ourselves to support this exclusive right of the parliament of Ireland, with our lives and fortunes.

“Resolved—That Great Britain and Ireland, are and ought to be inseparably connected, by being under the dominion of the same king, and enjoying equal liberty and similar constitutions.

“Signed by order,

“VAL. COGHLAN, Secretary.”

"MONAGHAN.

"At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town and neighbourhood of Monaghan, convened by public notice, signed by twenty-eight of the principal Inhabitants, March 22nd, 1782,

"Mr. FORSTER in the Chair.

"Resolved—That we do most heartily approve of the resolutions of the Volunteer Delegates, assembled at Dungannon, the 15th of February last, particularly that which declares that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the *ONLY* power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom. To no other laws will we submit, and it is with astonishment we behold our sister kingdom retaining claims of a contrary tendency—claims which are, and must be, useless to her, and insulting to us.

"WM. FORSTER."

"COUNTY TYRONE.

"At a Meeting of the Nobility, Representatives, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county Tyrone, at Omagh, convened by the Sheriff, the 22nd of March, 1782, the following Declaration and Resolutions were unanimously agreed to—

RIGHT HON. LORD BELMORE in the Chair.

"We, the nobility, representatives, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of Tyrone, thinking it now particularly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation; and desirous by a seasonable explanation to terminate any anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest; do declare, we will, in every situation in life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws *ONLY*, as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will in every instance uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statute, except such as derive authority from said parliament, pledging ourselves to our country and to each other, to support with our lives and fortunes this our solemn declaration; and further we bind ourselves, that we will at all times renew this necessary vindication of our rights, till such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged, and firmly established by the authority of parliament.

"Finally we declare, that it is our wish to remove every jealousy between Great Britain and Ireland, and to prove to the world our unalterable affection to our sister kingdom; surrounded as she is by a host of enemies, we are determined to share her liberty and share her fate.

"BELMORE, Chairman."

“ANTRIM MEETING.

“At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Antrim, at an Assizes held at Carrickfergus, March 22nd, 1782.

“The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to—

“That we think it expedient and indispensably necessary now, to express our sentiments on certain points of undoubted fundamental justice and rights, due to the subjects of this kingdom; desirous by a seasonable explanation of our minds, to terminate every anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest between our sister kingdom of Great Britain and us, with whom we desire to live on the purest terms of amity and most cordial friendship; our interest being inseparable, being the same blood and people, and having the same charters of liberty and constitution granted to our ancestors, when they removed from England to Ireland, and being convinced that such a unity of right, will increase and establish the strength of the whole British empire; we therefore do declare that we will in every situation of life, by every constitutional means in our power, assert and support the independence of this nation on any other legislative body, than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. We will endeavour to procure our free and equal commerce to be confirmed, and the army raised and paid by Ireland, to be regulated by a limited law of that kingdom, during the time they are provided for by the Irish parliament, and no longer. We will endeavour to have the liberty of the subject secured, the administration of justice impartially promoted by the independence of the judges, holding their employments upon a better and more certain tenure—fully determined by every constitutional means to support the legal rights of Ireland.

“Resolved—That we think that an inseparable connexion between this country and Great Britain, but a distinct legislation, essentially necessary, not only for the prosperity of this kingdom, but for that of the empire at large.

“A. M'MANUS, Sheriff.”

“COUNTY OF MAYO.

“At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Mayo, convened by the High Sheriff, and of the Grand Jury of said county, at Spring Assizes, at Castlebar, on Sunday, the 24th March, 1782.

“CHARLES COSTELLO, Esq. High Sheriff, in the Chair.

"The following Resolution was entered into unanimously :—

"Resolved—That no power on earth has a right to make laws to bind this kingdom, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that any Irishman who directly or indirectly DARES to deny that position, is an enemy to his country, and can only be sheltered from its resentment by the contemptibility of his character."

The next is from Bandon, and evidences a spirit we trust to see again.

"BANDON MEETING.

"At a Meeting of the Volunteer Corps of Bandon Cavalry, and Bandon Independent Company, convened by their respective Commanding Officers, at Bandon, the 25th of March, 1782,

"FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq. Colonel of the Bandon Independent Company, in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously—That we look upon religious toleration as highly advantageous to society—as powerfully aidant to civil liberty—as necessary for the strength and happiness of a state; and we feel the greatest joy at the relaxation of those severe laws which affected the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom; a measure most wise, most political, most necessary, and which must be attended with the happiest consequences, and produce a perfect union among all the people of Ireland.

"Resolved unanimously—That we are attached to our most gracious Sovereign, with the most zealous and unshaken loyalty; and that our firm resolution is, to risk our lives and properties, in defence of his crown, person, and dignity.

"Resolved unanimously—That we regard our fellow-subjects of Great Britain with the most sincere affection, and wish always to maintain the closest connexion with them, convinced that such is absolutely necessary for the strength and preservation of both kingdoms; but as we are willing to share their fate in the extremities of danger, we are resolved to enjoy the free constitution they boast, and to which we are equally entitled; and resolve that no power on earth can make laws to bind Ireland, except the King, Lords, and Commons thereof.

"Signed,

"S. STAWELL, Col. Bandon Cavalry.

"F. BERNARD, Col. Bandon Infantry."

“LONDONDERRY MEETING.

“At a Common Hall, held pursuant to public notice, March 28th, 1782,

ROBERT FAIRLY, Esq. Mayor, in the Chair,

“Resolved unanimously—We, the Mayor and Freemen of Londonderry, convinced that at this period it is incumbent on all people of Ireland, publicly to assert the unalienable rights of this nation, and that a seasonable exertion may produce such explanation as will remove the possibility of future contest with Great Britain, do declare, that we will in every situation in life, and with all means in our power, maintain the rights of this kingdom, to be governed only by the King, Lords, and Commons thereof; and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes which do not derive their authority from the King, Lords, and Commons aforesaid.

“Resolved unanimously—That it is our earnest wish to preserve, and by removing all jealousies perpetuate, an intimate and constitutional connexion with Britain; and that surrounded as she is by an host of enemies, we are determined to share her liberties and share her fate.

“ROBERT FAIRLY, Mayor.”

On the same day, the Meeting, of which we insert the following resolutions, was held in the City of Cork.

“GLANMIRE UNION.

“At a monthly Meeting of the Glanmire Union, on the 28th March, 1782.

“COLONEL MANNIX in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That the people of Ireland are a free people, with a parliament of their own, to whose authority alone they are subject; now we, the Glanmire Union, associated for the defence of the realm, the laws, and the constitution, do agree to the following resolutions:—

“Resolved unanimously—That we do not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any parliament, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we think the people of this country are at this time particularly called upon to make such declaration.

“Resolved—That we will in every capacity oppose the execution of any statute imposed upon us by the pretended authority of the British parliament.

“HENRY MANNIX, Colonel.”

That spirit is re-echoed on the same day, by the

“LAGAN VOLUNTEERS.

“*At a Meeting of the Lagan Volunteers, March 28th, 1782,*

“LIEUT-COLONEL WALKER in the Chair.

“*The Dungannon Resolutions of the 15th of February last being read, and severally proposed :*

“Resolved unanimously—That we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, to persevere in every constitutional means of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in the Dungannon Resolutions, and until the independence of Ireland, under the King of Great Britain, be firmly established and unequivocally explained.

We find the following, bearing date the next day, the 29th of March, 1782.

“COUNTY OF LONDONDERRY.

“*We, the High Sheriffs and Grand Jury of the city and county of Londonderry, assembled at an Assize, held the 29th day of March, 1782, in the Town Hall of the City of Londonderry.*

“Thinking it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation ; and desirous, by seasonable explanation, to terminate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest ; do declare, that we will in every situation of life, and with all means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only, as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland ; and that we will in every instance uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive their authority from said parliament ; pledging ourselves to our country and to each other, to support with our lives and fortunes, this our solemn declaration. And further we bind ourselves, that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights, till such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged, and firmly established by the authority of parliament.”

“MICHAEL ROSS, }
“WILLIAM LENOX, } Sheriffs.”

And on the next day the following from Carlow—

“COUNTY OF CARLOW.

“*At Lent Assizes, March 30, 1782.*

“*We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Carlow, think the duty we owe to our country and ourselves, calls upon us to declare unanimously,*

“That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“RICHARD MERCER, Sheriff.

“ROBERT POWER, Foreman.”

The spirit of Galway shines in the annexed Resolutions.

“COUNTY GALWAY.

“*Spring Assizes, 1782.*

“*At a full Meeting of the Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Galway, assembled pursuant to public notice from the High Sheriff, at the County Hall in Galway, March 31st, 1782.*

“JOHN KELLY, of Castlekelly, Esq. in the Chair.

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will resist the execution of any other with our lives and fortunes.

“Resolved—That if *force constitutes right*, the people of this country have a right to use force against the man who *dares* to maintain doctrine subversive of their constitution; but as the object is beneath the dignity of the national resentment, we shall only bid such a man beware how he hereafter *disturbs* with the rights of his country, and provokes the vengeance of a people determined to be *free*.”

We insert the following, not only from the intrinsic merit of the resolution, but from the name of the chairman.

“COUNTY OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD.

“*We the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Waterford, at Spring Assizes, 1782, assembled, think the duty we owe to our Country and ourselves, calls upon us at this time to declare,*

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“ COUNTY OF CORK.

“ *Resolutions of the Grand Jury of the County of Cork, at Spring Assizes, 1782.*

“ Resolved—That we think it necessary to declare, that no power has a right to make laws for this kingdom, save ONLY the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we shall not consider ourselves to be bound by any other; and that we will with our lives and fortunes maintain and defend the Irish parliament in such a declaration of rights, and in any measure that they may think proper to support it.

“ RICHARD TOWNSEND, Foreman.”

“ CITY OF KILKENNY.

“ *We, the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Kilkenny, at Spring Assizes, 1782, assembled, conscious that every Citizen who wishes to support the glorious cause of Liberty, should at this critical juncture declare his sentiments, have unanimously entered into the following Resolutions—*

“ Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power that have a right to make laws to bind Ireland; and we will, to the utmost of our power, resist the execution of any other laws.

“ T. BUTLER, Foreman.”

“ COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

“ *At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County Kilkenny, at Lent Assizes, 1782.*

“ We do declare for ourselves, that we deny the authority of the British parliament to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will not obey, but resist the execution of any laws so made; and that we are ready to support our parliament in declaring its exclusive rights, with our lives and fortunes.

“ Resolved unanimously—That Great Britain and Ireland are, and ought to be, inseparably connected, by being governed by the same King, and enjoying equal liberty and similar constitutions.

“ JAMES KEARNEY, Sheriff.

“ H. BLUNT, Foreman.”

“ COUNTY OF MONAGHAN.

“ We, the High Sheriff, Foreman, and Grand Jury of the County of Monaghan, this day assembled,

“ Thinking it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation, and desirous by a seasonable explanation to terminate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do unanimously declare, that we will, in every situation of life, and with all means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws ONLY as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will in every instance uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive authority from said parliament.

“ THOMAS CORRY, Sheriff.

“ SAMUEL MADDEN, Foreman.”

“ COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

“ We the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary, at Spring Assizes, 1782, assembled, think the duty we owe to our Country and ourselves, calls upon us thus to declare—

“ That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ FRANCIS MATTHEW, Sheriff.”

“ COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

“ IVERK VOLUNTEERS, Commanded by the Right Hon JOHN PONSONBY, Colonel.

“ At a full Meeting of the Iverk Volunteers, at Bessboro’, on Easter Monday, 1782.

MAJOR OSBORNE, in the Chair.

“ Resolved—That we conceive the first step now necessary for this great purpose, to be a solemn and recorded declaration in parliament, of the legislative rights of this free nation, and that no body of men have any power or authority, to make laws to bind this ancient and independent kingdom, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

“ Resolved—That it is the mutual interest of Great Britain and Ireland, always to possess the closest degree of liberal con-

nexion. We are persuaded, from this motive, as well as from partiality, affinities, and affections, it is the universal and sincere desire of our countrymen, that the two kingdoms, by having the same king, equal liberty, and similar constitutions, should remain inseparably connected for ever.

“Signed by order,

“PETER WALSH, Secretary.”

“MOUNTMELICK VOLUNTEERS.

“*At a Meeting of said Volunteers, at Mountmellick, April 1st, 1782,*

LOED VISCOUNT CARLOW, in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power who have, or ought to have, any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will not obey or give operation to any laws, except those enacted by them.

“Resolved unanimously—That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably connected by every tie that can cement a union between two nations, and should enjoy equal liberty and similar constitutions.

“Signed by order,

“JOHN SHAW, Secretary.”

“COUNTY KILKENNY.—CASTLEDURROW VOLUNTEERS.

“*At a full Meeting of the Castledurrow Volunteers, held at the Market-house, April 1st, 1782.*

“Resolved—That no power on earth has a right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that we will in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statute or laws, except such as are formed by the authority aforesaid.

“Signed by order,

“JOHN B. RIDGE, Secretary.”

“COUNLY SLIGO.—TYRERIL TRUE BLUES.

“*At a Meeting of the Tyreril True Blues, held at Colloony, April 1st, 1782, pursuant to notice,*

“The Rev. JOHN LITTLE in the Chair.

“Resolved—That considering ourselves as free citizens, armed in defence of ourselves, the laws and constitution of our country, and disclaiming any jurisdiction whatsoever, but of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, we are firmly determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support every measure which may tend towards a preservation of that independence; and we also declare, that we will in every capacity oppose the execution of all such statutes, *as the* (at present to us seemingly) *usurped authority* of a British parliament has hitherto enacted, or may hereafter attempt to impose on a country, whose great wishes are to be free; at the same time, that we declare in almost the words of our worthy brethren, the delegates of the Connaught corps, that the chief wish of our hearts, is to clasp our sister nation to our bosom, and cement an indissoluble union between us; attached to her by every tie of affection and interest that can unite nations, surrounded as she is by a host of enemies, we are resolved to share her liberty, and share her fate.

“JOHN LITTLE, Chairman.”

“PORTARLINGTON INFANTRY.

“*At a Meeting of the Portarlington Infantry, assembled by notice, on Tuesday, April 2nd, 1782,*

MAJOR LEGRAND in the Chair,

“Resolved unanimously—That mutual and inseparable interests should unite Great Britain and Ireland. As Citizens and Volunteers, we will never lose sight of that grand object. We took up arms to support his Majesty against the enemies of Great Britain and Ireland; to protect ourselves, and to maintain, by every constitutional mode, the freedom and independence of this kingdom, bound only by laws enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and liberties we jointly and severally are determined to support with our lives and properties.

“WM. HENRY LEGRAND, Chairman.”

“QUEEN’S COUNTY.

“*Lent Assizes, 1782.*

“*At a Meeting of the Grand Jury of said county, at Maryborough, Tuesday, 2nd April, 1782,*

GEORGE BURDETT, Esq. Foreman, in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were agreed to—

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, being fully and alone competent to enact laws to bind the same, the interference of any other legislature is inconsistent, injurious, and oppressive, and that we will ever resist the execution of any such pretended laws, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes.

“Resolved—That any idea of separation from the imperial crown of Great Britain, is absurd, extravagant, and ruinous; that attached by loyalty and duty to his Majesty’s person and government, and by affection and interest united to Great Britain, we will stand and fall by her; but that being bound to share her distresses, we are entitled to a full participation of her liberty, and we hope the candour of her legislature will remove every ideal ground of future jealousy and cavil.

“GEORGE BURDETT, Foreman.”

“STRABANE MEETING.

“At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the town of Strabane, on the 3rd of April, 1782, in order to take into consideration the present state of public affairs.

JOHN SPROULE, Esq. Provost, in the Chair.

“Resolved—That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional right of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only, as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statute, except such as derive authority from said parliament.

“JOHN SPROULE, Provost.”

It appears that a Volunteer Convention was held at Carlow, at which the following resolutions were passed:—

“At a General Meeting of the Delegates from the several Volunteer Corps of the Queen’s County, viz.—5 of Cavalry, and 15 of Infantry, held at Maryborough, April 3, 1782.

The VISCOUNT CARLOW in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to—

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are fully and alone competent to enact laws to bind the same,

and that we will resist the execution of any other pretended laws, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes.

"Resolved—That any idea of separation from the imperial crown of Great Britain, is absurd, extravagant, and ruinous; that enjoying similar constitutions, we are entitled to equal liberty; and we hope the prudence of the British legislature will remove every ideal ground of future jealousy and discontent, and that no mere cavil in words, may prevent that affectionate and perfect amity and union we ever wish to preserve.

"CARLOW, Chairman."

"UNIVERSITY MEETING.

"*At a Meeting of the Electors of the University, convened on Wednesday, the 3rd April, 1782, by Public Notice,*

"MR. WILLIAM BAKER, in the Chair,

"*The following Address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented to their Representatives.*

"To the Right Hon. WALTER BURGH, and JOHN FITZGIBBON, Esq., Representatives in part for the University of Dublin.

"GENTLEMEN—The power of binding Ireland by acts of a foreign legislature, is what nothing but a spirit of arrogance or oppression would insist upon—nothing but the most abject servility submit to; for we cannot suppose, that the appearance of a claim which irritates the whole body of the people, would be retained, unless there was an intention of enforcing this claim hereafter. *We are* therefore convinced, that *an express declaration of rights* is the only measure upon which this country can build its legislative independence; and that a reluctance to assert the constitution of the land, may furnish Great Britain with a pretence for denying the justice to our requisition.

It is our wish to render the connexion between this country and Great Britain, as close and permanent as possible, and we are persuaded that this is only to be accomplished by abolishing all usurped authority of the one over the other, and removing every invidious distinction between the constitutions of the two countries, equally entitled to be free.

"WM. BAKER, Chairman."

"TO THE ELECTORS OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

"GENTLEMEN—I have always been of an opinion that the claim of the British parliament to make laws for this country, *is a daring usurpation on the rights of a free people,*" and have

uniformly asserted this opinion both in public and in private. When a declaration of the legislative right was moved in the House of Commons, I did oppose it, upon a decided conviction, that it was a measure of a dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. However, I do, without hesitation, yield my own opinion upon this subject to yours, and will, whenever such a declaration shall be moved, give it my support.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

JOHN FITZGIBBON.

Mount Shannon, April 11th, 1782.

The following resolution is significant, and we have therefore selected it from amongst many.

"At a Meeting of the Cumber Battalion, April 4th, 1782.

"Colonel DAVID ROSS, in the Chair,

"Resolved unanimously—That an equal distribution of justice is both the glory and strength of every empire.

"Resolved unanimously—That to assert or maintain that this kingdom is to be governed by any other power except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, is an unequal distribution of justice, a subversion of the rights of this kingdom, and detrimental to the real happiness of the whole empire.

"DAVID ROSS, Chairman."

"CLARE MEETING.

"At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Clare, convened by the High Sheriff, at Ennis, April 6th, 1782, pursuant to public notice,

"POOLE HICKMAN, Esq., High Sheriff, in the Chair.

"The following Resolutions were agreed to—

"Resolved—That it appears to us to be absolutely necessary to declare, that no power on earth has any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

"Resolved—That a claim of any body of men, other than

the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ POOLE HICKMAN, Sheriff.”

The Grand Jury of the city of Cork signalized their patriotism in the following manner:—

“ GRAND JURY OF THE CITY OF CORK.

“ *Council Chamber, April 6th, 1782.*

“ Resolved—That the exercise of the power of legislation, by any foreign legislature, is degrading to the country over which such power is exerted, subversive of its liberties, calculated to break down the spirit of its people, *and sufficient to reduce a great kingdom* to the contemptible situation of a tributary province.

“ That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the legislature thereof, competent solely, and in exclusion of every other power on earth, to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right, is unconstitutional, and ought to be resisted.

“ That the claim of the British parliament to bind this kingdom by laws, is a claim disgraceful and unproductive; disgraceful to us, because it is an infringement of our constitution; unproductive to Great Britain, because the exercise of it will not be submitted to by the people of Ireland.

“ R. H. HUTCHINSON, Foreman.”

“ UNION REGIMENT.

“ *At a Meeting of the Representatives of the several Corps of this Regiment, held at the Market-house in Moira, on Monday, the 8th of April, 1782, in order to take into consideration the Dungannon Resolutions,*

“ LIEUTENANT-COL. SHARMAN, in the Chair,

“ Resolved—That in the present general appeal to the people, we think ourselves called on, as part of the civil body, to make a public declaration of our principles.

“ Resolved—That his Majesty's loyal subjects of this regiment entertain a sincere and unfeigned attachment to his Majesty's person and government.

“ Resolved—That his Majesty's people of Ireland, are a free people, inheritors of a free constitution, descended to them from their ancestors.

"Resolved—That his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, is a distinct kingdom, giving a distinct title to the Imperial Crown, with a parliament of its own, the sole legislature of the state.

"Resolved—That it is the undoubted right of this free people, (a right which they value as their lives,) to be governed solely by their own laws. That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only representatives of this crown and people; and the interposition of any other body of men with the legislature of this country, is incompatible with our fundamental laws and franchises.

"Resolved—That next to our liberties, we value our connexion with Great Britain, as a blessing on which the happiness of both kingdoms depends; we shall look forward therefore with a pleasing conviction, that the justice of Great Britain will shake hands with the liberties of Ireland; and that the liberal renunciation of claims so useless to the claimants—to us the cause of discontent, and to others of fatal calamities—will secure the peace of the present, and the attachment of the succeeding generations.

"Signed by order,

"WM. BATEMAN, Secretary."

The following short but distinct Resolution was passed by the Sessions Grand Jury of the City of Dublin.

"CITY OF DUBLIN MEETING.

"At a Meeting of the Sessions Grand Jury for the County of the City of Dublin, held at the Tholsel, on Monday, April 8th, 1782,

"The following Resolution was unanimously agreed to—

"Resolved—That every attempt of the British Parliament to restrain or limit the trade, or to frame laws for the government of this kingdom, is illegal and unconstitutional.

"PATRICK BRIDE, Foreman."

The following Resolutions show, how ardent and continued was the patriotism of the County of Wexford, at the period to which we refer.

"COUNTY WEXFORD.

"At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Wexford, convened by the High Sheriff at the County Court House, on Tuesday, the 9th day of April, 1782, pursuant to public notice.

"Resolved—That the late spirited and successful efforts of the parliament of Great Britain, to assert her own rights, and support their own constitution, against the undue influence of the Crown, is an example well worthy the imitation of the parliament of Ireland.

"Resolved—That Great Britain and Ireland ought to enjoy equal liberty and the same constitution, and that we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, support this position.

"That we deny the authority of the British Parliament to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will not obey any laws that shall be so made.

"HENRY BROWNRIGG, Sheriff."

We could not possibly refuse to insert the following declaration of the inhabitants of the County of Kerry, in County Meeting assembled.

"COUNTY KERRY MEETING.

"*We, the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Kerry, convened at Tralee, on Tuesday, the 9th day of April, 1782, pursuant to notice given by the High Sheriff,*

"Do unanimously declare—That we acknowledge no other power, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, as competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; that we conceive the interference of any other body, for that purpose, to be a wanton and unwarrantable encroachment, and an infringement of our rights; and that we do expect such declaration from our representatives in parliament.

"DENIS MAHONY, Sheriff."

Thus spoke the friends of freedom in Dungarvan—

"DUNGARVAN VOLUNTEERS.

"*At a Meeting of the Dungarvan Volunteers, Nos. 1 and 2, at the Town House in Dungarvan, the 10th of April, 1782,*

CAPTAIN BOAT, in the Chair,

"Resolved unanimously—That the Kings, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

"JOHN WILKINSON, Secretary."

In similar terms the Farbil Light Dragoons expressed themselves:

“COUNTY WESTMEATH.

“At a full Meeting of the Farbill Light Dragoons, held at Killucan, the 10th day of April, 1782,

CAPTAIN ROBERT COOKE, in the Chair,

“The following Resolution was agreed to—

“Resolved—That no power on earth is competent to make laws to bind Ireland, except the King, Lords, and Commons thereof.”

“ROBERT COOKE, Chairman.”

The same Resolution was adopted by the

RATHDOWN LIGHT DRAGOONS,

County of Dublin.

“At a Meeting of this Corps, on Wednesday, the 10th of April, 1782,

COL. SIR JOHN ALLEN JOHNSON, Bart., in the Chair.

“The following Resolution was unanimously agreed to—

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are alone competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

J. A. JOHNSON, Chairman.”

*It appears that all classes in the County of Dublin were animated with a desire to pledge themselves in the strongest way to the doctrine of Irish Independence.

“COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

“At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin, assembled in the Court House at Kilmainham, on Thursday, 11th April, 1782,

THOMAS BAKER, Esq Foreman, in the Chair,

“The following Resolutions were agreed to—

“Resolved—That no power on earth, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, can, in right, make laws to bind the people of this land.

“Resolved—That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from the people; and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

“THOMAS BAKER, Foreman.”

We cannot exclude the following Resolution—

“MULLINGAR VOLUNTEERS.

“*At a Meeting of the Mullingar Corps, on Friday, April 12th, 1782,*

WM. JUDGE, Esq, Colonel, in the Chair,

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will not assist in the execution of any but those enacted by the legislature aforesaid.

“WM. JUDGE, Chairman.”

How strange it will appear to those who know the Corporation of Dublin, to find that they could have passed such a Resolution as the following—

“*At an Assembly held at the Tholsel of the City of Dublin, on Friday, the 12th day of April, 1782,*

“Resolved unanimously—That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“TAYLOR and LAMBERT, Town Clerks.”

There is material of the highest temper in the following Resolutions.

“COUNTY OF DUBLIN LIGHT DRAGOONS.

“*At a Meeting of the County of Dublin Light Dragoons, on parade, April 14th, 1782,*

THE RIGHT HON. LUKE GARDINER, in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

“Resolved unanimously—That until the indisputable rights

of the different branches of the legislature of this kingdom shall be fully recognised, harmony between Great Britain and Ireland can never be completely established.

"Resolved unanimously—That any man, or body of men, in either kingdom, who at this crisis can hesitate at a recognition of our rights, must be considered as holding sentiments tending to separate Great Britain and Ireland, and inimical to the tranquillity of both kingdoms.

"LUKE GARDINER, Chairman."

Thus spoke the County of Cork, and may it soon so speak again.

"COUNTY OF CORK MEETING.

"At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Cork, convened pursuant to Advertisement, at the County Court House, on Monday, 15th day of April, 1782,

ABRAHAM MORRIS, Esq., High Sheriff, in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously—That national and independent legislation being the fundamental right of the subject, without the establishment of which we can never hope for security to our person or our properties, is an object of great national importance; and that we will assert, promote, maintain, and defend, this and all other our natural and inherent rights, by every constitutional means; solemnly declaring, that no power or state whatsoever, hath any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save only the Kings, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

"Resolved unanimously—That as we hold the interests and connexions of Great Britain and Ireland to be inseparable, so we also declare their legislature to be distinct and independent of each other, and that the security and firmness of the former, can only be maintained by the establishment of the latter.

"ABRAHAM MORRIS, Sheriff."

The following emphatic declarations emanated from the

"KING'S COUNTY.—BARONY OF KILCOURSRY
UNION.

"At a Meeting of the Barony of Kilcoursry Union, held at Horseleap, on Tuesday the 16th April, 1782.

MAJOR BAGOT in the Chair.

" The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed on—

" Resolved—That we highly approve of the virtuous and patriotic Resolutions of the Ulster Delegates, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February last.

" Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will resist, with our lives and fortunes, the execution of any other laws, save those only that are enacted by the authority aforesaid.

" Signed by order,

" JOSEPH HENDERSON, Sec."

We heartily concur in the sentiments expressed in the following resolutions.

CLONLONAN VOLUNTEERS.

" At a Meeting of the Clonlunan Light Infantry, at Meath, on Tuesday the 16th April, 1782,

" COLONEL GEORGE CLARKE in the Chair.

" The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed on—

" Resolved—That we will steadily maintain, and strenuously support the principles of our original institution, the defence of our country against foreign invasion, the preservation of the public peace, and the preservation of our constitutional freedom, rights, and privileges.

" Resolved—That the sole power of enacting laws to bind this kingdom, is vested in the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only; and that we will not, as Volunteers, or in any other capacity, enforce the execution of any laws, except such as have received that constitutional sanction.

" Signed by order.

" J. ADAMS, Secretary."

The Wicklow Convention expressed itself thus :—

WICKLOW VOLUNTEERS.

" At a Meeting of the Representatives of the Independent Wicklow Foresters, Cavalry and Infantry, at Wicklow, the 20th of April, 1782,

COLONEL HAYES in the Chair.

“Resolved unanimously—That though we had conceived the general voice of this county, in the unanimous resolutions passed at last Lent Assizes, had fully spoken our sentiments, yet perceiving that several respectable corps have thought it proper to remove every possible doubt of their principles, by speaking particularly for themselves; and being fully persuaded, that subjects, by acquiring a knowledge in the use of arms, do in no respect relinquish the rights to a free discussion of public measures, we do now declare, that no power on earth has a power to make laws to bind this kingdom, but the King, with the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

“SAMUEL HAYES, Chairman.”

We close our extracts with the following :—

“LISMORE VOLUNTEERS.

“*At a full Meeting of the Independent Blues of Lismore, in the county of Waterford, on the 1st of April, 1782,*

ROBERT COOKE, Esq. in the Chair.

“Resolved—That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, are competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that an usurpation of this power by any other body of men, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ROBERT COOKE.”

APPENDIX, No. 4.

THE

“COMMERCIAL INJUSTICES.”

THE following recorded evidences of the ungenerous spirit in which England has acted towards Ireland in points affecting her commercial and manufacturing prosperity, are taken from English sources.

English testimony as to English commercial jealousy of Ireland.

The first is from Anderson's "History of Commerce." It shews that the more favourable conduct of England in the points alluded to, previous to the 17th century, was subsequently a subject of regret. Anderson has not noted the reason of that early favour. It was simply because the commerce and trifling manufactures of Ireland were in towns that were mere English fortresses along the Irish coast. But when the Irish began to have a share, she commenced her oppressions, and gave free vent to her ungenerous and cruel jealousy of Irish prosperity.

In those early days commerce was not so perfectly understood as to be made subservient to the political interests of princes and states. Of this we have an instance under the year 1289, being the 17th of King Edward I., when an act passed relating to Ireland, the 4th section whereof gives "leave for all kinds of merchandize to be exported from Ireland except to the King's enemies." Certainly, then as well as now, there were some Irish commodities that interfered with those of the

same kind in England, and particularly wool and leather. Even much later than this time, we find another law to the like effect in the 34th year of King Edward III., being the year of our Lord 1360, c. 17, "giving leave for all kinds of merchandize to be exported from and into Ireland, as well by aliens as denizens; and also c. 18 of the same year enacts, that all persons who have lands and possessions in Ireland might freely import thither, and also export from that kingdom their own commodities," *which liberty, in our days, would be deemed unsafe and dangerous*.—1763, p. 321, vol. 1, *Anderson's Commerce*.

This was written in 1763, but there are earlier proofs of the evil disposition of England. Sir William Temple, writing in 1673, thus advised the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:—

Regard must be had to those points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with that of England, in which case the Irish trade ought to be declined, so as to give way to the trade of England.

This policy was very effectively followed up. Indeed ten years before Sir William Temple wrote, Irish commerce got a cruel blow from the Navigation Acts of Charles II. She was cut off from all direct trade with the colonies, just as she was beginning to find it most profitable.

For details we refer the reader to a subsequent part of this article, as well as for the details of the ruin of our woollen manufactures, by the compliance of William III. with the grossly and tyrannously unjust demand to that effect, made upon him by the British parliament. We proceed with our authorities. The cruel effect of the act of William III. was well described by the historian, Barlow:—

From the establishment of the act of settlement and explanation, Ireland had rapidly increased in wealth and improvement, to the admiration and envy of her neighbours, till it was again laid waste by the revolutionary wars under William III., and even from this calamity it was recovering with such quickness, that in 1698 the balance of trade in its favour amounted to between *four and five hundred thousand pounds*.

But the effects were permanent of restricting laws, insurmountable by the fertility of the soil, the ingenuity of the inhabitants, navigable rivers, and a multitude of harbours.—(Vol. 1, p. 290.)

The 17th century having thus closed, we give, from a pamphlet published in London in 1727, an evidence of the continuance, in the 18th century, of the same arrogant and insolently selfish spirit, with which our interests were treated.

Seasonable Remarks on Trade, with some Reflections on the Advantages that might accrue to Great Britain by a proper Regulation of the Trade of Ireland, wrote in London, 1727.

P. 36.—The situation of Ireland for an extended trade is more advantageous than that of any other nation in Europe. Its harbours are many and commodious, its inhabitants numerous and hardy, inured to want and labour, and able upon poor fare to run through a great deal of work.

Their near situation renders intercourse between us very easy, and enables us to protect their trade, and to take such care of our interest there as would be almost impossible, had they been more remote. The politeness, the gaiety, the power of our court, allure all those who are studious either of improvement, of pleasure, or of preferment. This drains from them the penny-rents of most of the great estates of that kingdom, and every increase of their wealth will (by enlarging the rent-rolls of those already settled here, and by enabling others to taste the delights of a court, who by the narrowness of their present fortunes are confined at home) greatly enlarge this inlet of their money, and *increase our* drafts upon them, which, together with the restrictions on the exportation of their wool, and the other advantages which we already have of them in trade, will cause to centre in England all, or the most part of, their acquisitions on the general balance.

I am sensible that the proposition which I here advance is a very bold one; as it is so opposite to the universally received opinion, that it were better for England if Ireland were no more. But, if we consider (apart from prejudice and particular interests) how greatly we are already gainers by the trade and industry of that country, poor as it is, we shall, perhaps, give into a notion so greatly exploded, and begin to think that the wealth and prosperity of Ireland is not only compatible with that of England, but highly conducing also to its riches, grandeur, and power.

The writer of the pamphlet had actually to apologise for thinking that Ireland ought to exist at all, and this although he only contemplated her existence as a means of giving England more plunder !

Referring for all details to the citation that follows, of acts of the English parliament, marking the subsistence of their spirit of injustice, we crowd together our remaining English authorities.

British legislation, on all occasions, controlled Irish commerce with a very high hand—universally on the principle of monopoly ; as if the poverty of Ireland were her wealth.—*Tour of Arthur Young, 1776-7.*

From the Revolution till within these few years, the system had been that of debarring Ireland from the use of her own resources, and making her subservient to the interests and opulence of the English people.—*Pitt, 1785.*

Mr. Dempster (on the same occasion), in the English parliament, said, that “England had always been miserably jealous of Ireland.”

On another occasion, Mr. Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville) said, “if England were heavily taxed, she had now, and had had for a whole century past, the benefits of a widely-extended trade, *from which she had excluded Ireland*—and the latter had already given to England all that she could have made, if by a barbarous and equally absurd policy she had not been debarred from those advantages that God and nature had given her.

Ireland had long felt the narrow policy of Great Britain, who, influenced by views of trade and commercial advantage, and stained and perverted with selfish motives, had treated her with partiality and neglect, and never looked on her prosperity as that of the empire at large.—*Pitt, 1799.*

Similar
testimony
after the
Union.

Such being some of the principal testimony, up to the Union, as to English jealousy of Ireland's prosperity, there need but two extracts more to show that it has not been denied since.

Is it not well known that, till 1780, the agriculture, internal industry, manufactures, commerce, and navigation of Ireland, were all held in the most rigid subserviency to the supposed

interests of Great Britain? In 1778 there was a proposal to allow her to import sugar direct, and to export every thing but woollens to pay for it; and this proposal was almost made a question of allegiance by the great towns of Great Britain, and so it was lost! In 1779 a more limited concession to her was also lost! *But towards the close of that year the disasters in North America, and the state of things in Ireland, produced a different feeling in the British parliament—state necessities, acting under a sense of political danger, yielded without grace, that which good sense and good feeling had before recommended in vain; and in 1782, under the like pressure, those concessions were rendered irrevocable.—Mr. Huskisson, March 21, 1825.*

Ireland was, under our old colonial system, prohibited from any direct trade with British colonies. This system was maintained with all its vigour till 1780, when, after the close of the American war, it became imperatively necessary to look to the rising spirit of discontent in Ireland, much fomented by the illiberal and unjust policy of this country (England) in respect to commerce. Every liberal relaxation encountered violent opposition, by strong petitions from Manchester, Glasgow, and Liverpool; the merchants of the latter place said that if Ireland were placed on the same footing with England, the port and town of Liverpool would fall back to its former state.—*March 12, 1841.—Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade.*

Leaving these general testimonies as to England's jealousy of our commercial progress, we come to details. By the infamous Lord Strafford, her active hostility in this respect seems to have been evoked. In Wallace's Essay on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland (Dublin, 1798), an extract is given from a letter of his, dated July 25, 1636, on the subject of the report he had made to the King and Council, respecting the manufacturing prospects of Ireland. The extract is as follows:—

First conception of the project of crushing Irish manufactures.

That there was little or no manufactures among them (*scil.* the Irish), but some beginnings towards a clothing trade which I had, and so should still discourage all I could, unless otherwise directed by his Majesty and their Lordships, in regard it would trench not only on the clothings of England, being our staple commodity, so as if they should manufacture their own wool, which grew to very great quantities, we (*scil.* the English) should not only lose the profit we made now by in-draping their

wools, but his Majesty lose extremely by his customs. And in conclusion, it might be feared that they might beat us out of the trade itself, by underselling us, which they were able to do.

He added, that he had endeavoured to turn the attention of the Irish to the manufacture of linen. His interference was utterly unjustifiable. Ireland, like every other nation, had a right to follow whatever manufactures she best liked, or found most convenient. Wool was her natural staple, the material being in excellence and abundance at home. If she afterwards took of her own accord to the more exotic article of linen, there was no reason why she should be confined to that alone. But such was the design, and although Strafford failed, and that the internal dissensions and disorders which pervaded in England for nearly a quarter of a century after, prevented his suggestions being immediately acted upon by England, they were carefully kept in mind, till a favourable concurrence of circumstances in the very last years of the century, gave her the long desired opportunity of carrying them into effect.

In the reign of Charles II. began the direct legislative interference with the commercial prospects of Ireland, which is alluded to in the quotations we have given from English writers and speakers. By the 12 Chas. II. chap. 4, duties equal to a prohibition were laid in England on the import of Irish woollen goods. This was little noticed at the time, our manufacture, in that respect, not being just then very extensive. But it was the beginning of a cruel system rigorously carried out and persevered in for nearly 190 years, and which speedily and severely forced itself on the notice of the Irish. The act we have mentioned was speedily followed up by the 15 Chas. II. chap. 7, (1663,) prohibiting the import of Irish cattle into England, and *all export* of value from Ireland to the colonies. Then came the 22 and 23 Chas. II. chap. 26, (1770,) forbidding import into Ireland of sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, steel, Juniper wood, or flustic, and some other articles from the colonies, *unless first unloaded in an English port*. This

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act contains an intimation that its prohibitions had been *intended* in the act of 1663, but not sufficiently expressed in the clause of the latter act, which forbade import of colonial articles from an English port into Ireland, unless the ship had first unloaded in that port.

So active was the miserable jealousy that dictated these Aggression, by way of prevention of our prosperity. and other aggressions upon our commercial liberty, that they were, for the greater part, made more to guard against an anticipated, rather than against any immediately existing success of Irish enterprise. This was particularly the case with the two first of the acts we have mentioned. Our wool-manufacture, although certainly making advances, was very far from being in such a flourishing condition in 1660, as to justify the jealous fears of competition with England, that prompted the 12 Chas. II. chap. 4. Nor was the English dread of decrease in the value of land, from extensive import of Irish cattle better founded, when in 1663 that article of import was forbidden upon such a pretence.

At the same time there is no doubt that Ireland was progressing. We have already quoted the testimony of the historian Barlow, to that effect. In 1692, Lord Deputy Sydney, in his speech from the throne to the Irish parliament, bore similar testimony, from his own knowledge. Much of this increased prosperity has been attributed, and with justice, to James, first Duke of Ormonde. In an excellent publication (the authorship of which is in some doubt), entitled "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered," printed in Dublin, in 1779, this nobleman and his efforts are thus spoken of:—

To heal the wound that this country (Ireland) had received by the prohibition of the export of her cattle to England, Lord Ormonde obtained from Charles II. a letter dated 23rd March, 1667, by which he directed all restraints on export of Irish

Improvement of Ireland up to 1688.

Efforts of the Duke of Ormonde to promote

Other evidence can be abundantly had—as that of Archbishop King in his State of the Protestants of Ireland; Lord Chief Justice Keating's Address to James II. and his Letters to Sir John Temple, &c.

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goods to *foreign*† parts, to be taken off.....and the import from Scotland of linen, woollen, and other commodities to be stopped, as drawing large sums out of Ireland. His Grace successfully executed his schemes of national improvement, having by his own constant attention, the exertion of his extensive influence, and the most princely munificence, greatly advanced the woollen, and revived the linen manufactures.

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This result was also in some degree accelerated by one of those very instances of *anticipatory obstruction*, on the part of Great Britain, which we have noticed a couple of paragraphs ago. The particular instance in question was, that in which, by one part of the act of 1663, Irish cattle were prohibited from being sent into England. The Irish, having the English market thus closed for their cattle, turned their attention to increasing and improving their breed of sheep, for the sake of the wool, which they began to manufacture very largely; and although here again met by the cruel operation of the other part of the same unjust law, which shut their woollen manufactures from the colonies, yet foreign exports very considerably increased.

The framers and followers out of the cruel policy we are exposing, did not expect this result; and seeing it, only became the more determined to crush the manufacture in question. This, as we have before noted and shall presently shew more in detail, they succeeded in doing before the end of the century.

England's
care of
her own
interest.

By the act 1 William and Mary, chap. 32, while the prohibition was continued against woollen goods from Ireland, the import of the raw material from that country into England, which had never been interrupted, was limited to certain ports therein named. This limitation was by no means with a view to prevent or check the Irish raw wool from coming; for England was very glad to take it to work up herself; but would appear to have been designed in order to ensure the more easy detection of the manufactured article, should an attempt be made to smuggle it, under cover of the free import of the raw material.

† The *English* possessions abroad remaining shut against our commodities.

In the reign of William the aggressions upon us recommenced by the 7 and 8 Will. III. chap. 22; which extended the prohibition of *direct* import of certain colonial articles into Ireland, enacted in Charles II.'s reign to *all* colonial articles whatsoever. In the succeeding year, 1697, a bill was openly brought in, in the English parliament, to forbid all export from Ireland of her woollen manufactures. It passed the Commons; but although favourably received in the Lords and much debated there, it did not pass the Upper House before the dissolution of the parliament, which occurred in the July of that year. There was very little reclamation against this conduct from the Irish parliament; partly because the attention of the latter was a good deal diverted and distracted by the passing of an English act in the previous session, which admitted Irish linens, hemp, and flax into England. But one other cause prevailed. The Irish Catholics (by the infamous breach of the treaty of Limerick, after their gallant army on the faith of that treaty had expatriated itself, and so rendered safe the violation of the treaty) were laid prostrate, but were still formidable. The dominant party knew that their only hope of securing and permanently establishing their ascendancy was, by ensuring the constant aid of England; and to propitiate her, they had to countenance her aggressions upon the commercial interests of their country. We will do them the charity to say, that they did so with reluctance, but they did so most certainly. In 1698-9 they not only allowed the long meditated and final blow to descend upon our woollen manufactures; but at the imperious demand of England, actually gave it strength, and certainty themselves, by anticipating the English legislature, and enacting (by the 10 Will. III. chap. 3,) their own disgrace and the commercial ruin of their country!

The English parliament *began* the matter, but as we have said, the so-called Irish parliament anticipated them in its completion. In England it commenced in June, 1698. On the 9th of that month, the House of Lords

Aggressions resumed.

Colonies totally shut.

Our woollen manufactures crushed.

Details of this iniquitous proceeding.

Addresses of the English Houses of Parliament to

William
III. in
1698, to
this effect.

addressed King William, stating (*English Lord's Journals* 1698, pp. 314–315.) :—

That the growing manufactures of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessities of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloths, doth invite your subjects of England with their families and servants to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufactures in Ireland ; which makes your loyal subjects in England very apprehensive, that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation, and the value of lands will greatly decrease, and the number of your people be much lessened here.

Wherefore we humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland, that the *growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long been, and will be ever looked upon with great jealousy*, by all your subjects of this kingdom, and if not timely remedied, may occasion *very strict laws totally to prohibit and suppress the same*. And, on the other hand, if they turn their industry and skill to the settling and improving the linen manufacture, for which, generally, the lands are very proper, they shall receive all the countenance, favour, and protection from your royal influence for the encouragement and promotion of the linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit they can be capable of.

The address of the Commons was in the following terms :—

Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons in Parliament assembled, being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do in a great measure depend on the preservation of the woollen manufacture, as much as possible, entire to this realm, think *it becomes us, like our ancestors, to be jealous of the increase and establishment of it elsewhere, and to use our utmost endeavours to prevent it* ; and, therefore, we cannot without trouble observe that Ireland, which is dependent on, and protected by England in the enjoyment of all they have, (and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there, would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England,) should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both themselves and us ; the consequence whereof will necessitate your Parliament of

England to interpose to prevent the mischief that threatens us, unless your Majesty, by your authority and great wisdom, shall find means to secure the trade of England, by making your subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interests of both kingdoms. And we do most humbly implore your Majesty's protection and favour in this matter, that you will make it your royal care, and enjoin all those you employ in Ireland, to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and to *discourage the woollen manufacture*, and encourage the linen manufactures, of Ireland, to *which we shall always be ready to give our utmost assistance*.

King William gave the following reply to the House of Commons:—

I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England.

His answer.

In these addresses there were three false averments; first, that Ireland was more fitted for linen than for woollen manufacture; second, that the latter was recently set up; and third, that its establishment in Ireland was of great prejudice to English interests.

False statements of these addresses.

As to the first—which is rather suggested than distinctly stated—its inconsistency with truth cannot for a moment be doubted, when we recollect that Ireland had the raw material for woollen manufacture in abundance and excellence at home. Not so in the case of linen. Flax-seed, the foundation of the material, was to be imported; its culture here was always precarious, owing to the humidity of the climate. And again, wool employed more hands, and yielded a greater profit to the public and to the manufacturer—considerations, of course, of great importance in any country, but particularly so in one so unfortunately circumstanced as Ireland. Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, vol. iii. p. 194, remarks as follows on this point:—

It requires about 20 acres of land to breed wool for setting at work the same number of hands which one acre of flax would employ; and yet in the end, the woollen manufacturer will be found to employ by far the greater number of hands, and yield the most profit.

The second argument, to the effect that the Irish had only recently taken up this manufacture, can be quickly disposed of. A glance at the report of the commissioners of enquiry into the condition of the hand-loom weavers, printed in 1844, by order of the House of Commons, will give, on parliamentary authority, the fact of Irish woollen goods being in demand and high repute in foreign countries, so early as 1357. Anderson's History of Commerce records several successive notices of this manufacture in acts of parliament, or otherwise, during the succeeding three centuries. In 1655, it was mentioned along with the wool manufacture of England herself in one of the articles of a treaty then negotiating between Cromwell and the ministers of Louis XIV. And wherever mentioned, whether in the many acts of parliament of both countries relative to the subject, or in treaties, or by individual writers, it is spoken of as a manufacture of good foreign demand, and giving abundant employment at home.

The third argument, viz.—that of injury to British interests, had no foundation in the existing state of matters. Adam Smith in his "Memoirs of Wool" (vol. 2, p. 244,) states, "that though the amount was increasing, yet, that the Irish in 1698 had not recovered one-third of the woollen trade which they had before the war." No market could be shewn from which Ireland had excluded England as to woollens, or where she was even a notable competitor. No proof was attempted of the allegation in any one way. The English commissioners of trade did indeed (in 1698) report that the difference between wool and labour in the two countries respectively, amounted to an advantage for Ireland of one-third; and that to reduce Irish woollens to an equality with British, so high as 44 *per cent.* might be laid on the former above what was on the latter in export duties. But in the proof of this they utterly failed, notwithstanding which failure, such was the remorseless and reckless selfishness of the English parliament, and the interested obsequiousness of what was called the Irish

parliament, that crushing duties were laid on all Irish woollens, (except friezes before taken off the loom,) and on all materials, and everything used in working up the material, even to the working utensils!

In pursuance of his reply, King William wrote immediately after (on the 16th July, 1698) to one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, Lord Galway, as follows:—"The chief thing that must be prevented is, that the Irish parliament take no notice of this here, and that you make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, *and discourage as far as possible the woollen. It never was of such importance to have a good session of parliament.*" (*Rapin*, vol. 17, p. 417.)

King William's letter to the Irish government on the subject.

The work we have before noticed, viz. "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered," so well describes the manner in which the affair was pushed in the Irish Parliament, that we shall here insert its description at length (pp. 99 to 105.):—

How the matter was pushed in Ireland.

The Houses of Parliament in England originally intended, that the business should be done in the parliament of Ireland, by the exertion of that great and just influence which King William had acquired in that kingdom. On the first day of the following session,* the Lords Justices in their speech, mention a bill transmitted for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures, which they recommend in the following words: "The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found *much more advantageous to this kingdom* than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, *from whence all foreign markets* are supplied, can never be encouraged *here* for that purpose; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England."

The Commons in their address,† promise their hearty endeavours to establish a linen and hempen manufacture in Ireland, and say that they hoped to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England. They referred the consideration of that subject to the committee of supply, who resolved that an additional duty be laid on old and new drapery of the manufacture

* 27th September, 1698, vol. ii. p. 994.

† Com. Jour. vol. ii. p. 997.

of this kingdom* that shall be exported, friezes excepted, to which the House agreed.† But there were petitions presented against this duty, and relative to the quantity of it, and the committee appointed to consider of this duty were not, it seems, so expeditious in their proceedings, as the impatience of the times required.‡

On the second of October, the Lords Justices made a quickening speech to both Houses, taking notice, that the progress which they expected was not made in the business of the session, and used those remarkable words: "The matters we recommended to you are so necessary, that the prosperity of this kingdom depends so much on the good success of this session, that since we know his Majesty's affairs cannot permit your sitting very long, we thought the greatest mark we could give of our kindness and concern for you, was to come hither, and desire you to hasten the dispatch of the matters under your consideration: in which we are the more earnest, because we must be sensible, that if the present opportunity his Majesty's affection to you hath put into your hands be lost, it seems hardly to be recovered."§

On the second of January, 1699, O. S., the House resolved, that the report from the committee of the whole House, appointed to consider of a duty to be laid on the woollen manufactures of this kingdom, should be made on the next day, nothing to intervene. But on that day a message was delivered from the Lords Justices in the following words: "We have received his Majesty's commands|| to send unto you a bill, entitled, an Act for laying an additional duty upon woollen manufactures exported out of this kingdom; the passing of which in this session his Majesty recommends to you, as what may be of great advantage for the preservation of the trade of this kingdom."

The bill which accompanied this message was presented, and a question for receiving it was carried in the affirmative by 74 against 34. This bill must have been transmitted from the Council of Ireland. Whilst the Commons were proceeding with the utmost temper and moderation, were exerting great firmness in restraining all attempts to enflame the minds of the people,** and were deliberating on the most important subject that could arise, it was taken out of their hands; and the bill passed, though not without opposition,†† and received the royal assent on the 29th day of January, 1698.

By this act an additional duty was imposed, of 4s. for every

* Com. Jour. vol. ii. p. 1022.

† October 24, 1698.

‡ Com. Jour. vol. ii. p. 1007, 1035.

§ Com. Jour. p. 1032.

|| Com. Jour. vol. ii. p. 1062.

** Com. Jour. vol. ii. p. 1007.

†† Com. Jour. 1104, by 105 against 41.

20s. in value of broad-cloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s. on every 20s. in value of new drapery, friezes only excepted, from the 25th of March, 1699, to the 25th of March, 1702;* the only manufacture excepted, was one of which Ireland had been in possession before the reign of Edward III., and in which she had always been distinguished.† This law has every appearance of having been framed on the part of administration.‡

But it did not satisfy the English parliament, where a perpetual law was made, prohibiting from the 20th of June, 1699,§ the exportation from Ireland of all goods made or mixed with wool, except to England and Wales, and with the license of the commissioners of the revenue: duties|| had been before laid on the importation into England equal to a prohibition, therefore this act has operated as a total prohibition of the exportation.

Before these laws, the Irish were under great disadvantages in the woollen trade, by not being allowed to export their woollen manufactures to the English colonies,¶ or to import dye-stuffs directly from thence; and the English in this respect, and in having those exclusive markets, possessed considerable advantages.

The accounts given by Lord Oriel in his "Paper on the Linen Trade," and by other authorities, of the leading facts connected with this fatal measure to Ireland, thoroughly correspond with what we have given.

Injustice ever comes back ultimately upon its authors; and accordingly England herself suffered from the ungenerous and cruel destruction of our woollen manufactures. We here again quote the work from which the preceding extract is taken.

"Mr. Dobbs, who wrote in 1729,** affirms that by this law of 1699, our woollen manufactures were forced away into France, Germany, and Spain; that they had in many branches so much

* 10 Will. III. chap. 5.

† And. on Com. vol. i. p. 204.

‡ The Commissioners of Trade in England, by their representation of the 11th October, 1698, say, (Eng. Com. Jour. xii. vol. 437,) "they conceive it not necessary to make any alteration whatsoever in this act," but take notice that the duties on broad cloth, of which very little is made in Ireland, is 20 per cent.; but the duty on new drapery, of which much is made, is but 10 per cent.

§ Eng. Stat. 10 and 11 Will. III. chap. 10, passed in 1699.

|| 12 Charles II. chap. 4, Eng. and afterwards continued by 11 Geo. I. chap. 7, Brit.

¶ By an Eng. act, made in 1663, the same which laid the first restraint on the exportation of cattle.

** Essay on the Trade of Ireland, p. 6, 7.

improved the woollen manufacture of France, as not only to supply themselves, but to vie with the English in foreign markets, and that by their correspondence they had laid the foundation of the running of wool thither, both from England and Ireland. He says, that these nations were then so improved, as in a great measure to supply themselves with many sorts they formerly had from England, and since that time, have deprived Britain of millions instead of thousands that Ireland might have made.

It is now acknowledged that the French undersell the English, and as far as they are supplied with Irish wool, the loss to the British manufacture is double what it would be if the Irish exported their goods manufactured. This is mentioned by Sir Matthew Decker[†] as the cause of the decline of the English, and the rise of the French woollen manufactures: and he asserts that the Irish had so great that trade out of their hands. England were in possession of this trade has got much less of our wool than she had in 1774. In 1774 the export of our wool to England, was 1,200,000 stone, at a medium of eight years, to 1784 it was 1,000,000 stone, which is 148,000 less than in 1774, and was a loss more than half a million yearly in value. In 1784 the quantity exported has been 1,000,000 stone, and in the last year[‡] it amounted only to 700,000 stone. In 1784 the last year did not exceed 1,000,000 stone. The price of wool under an absolute prohibition is 10s. per stone, but under the market price of Europe, which is 12s. per stone, the prohibition is 20 per cent.

The constitutionality of recommending the pernicious practice of running waters, &c. will be understood. Of the thirty-two counties, sixteen are maritime, and the rest are watered by rivers. The rivers that empty themselves into the sea, afford a great number of boats, such a range of coasts, such a number of boats, and it is to be effectively guarded?

The prohibition of the export of live cattle forced the Irish into the establishment of their woollen manufacture; and the second cause of the woollen manufacture was a strong temptation to the running of wool. The severest penalties were enacted; the town of legislature, the government, and the House of Commons of Ireland, exerted all possible efforts to remove this growing evil. In 1774 the act was made in Great Britain[¶] in

[†] See the Report of the Committee on the Wool Trade, p. 76. [‡] In 1774.

[§] The wool was then exported to the Continent, and the exportation of yarn. The quantity of yarn exported from 1774 to 1778, are mentioned in the Report of the Committee on the Wool Trade, p. 76.

[¶] See the Report of the Committee on the Wool Trade, p. 76. The only way to prevent the exportation of live cattle was to prohibit the exportation of live cattle.

[¶] In 1774 the act was made in Great Britain, and the exportation of live cattle was prohibited. The only way to prevent the exportation of live cattle was to prohibit the exportation of live cattle.

1739, to take off the duties from woollen or bay yarn exported from Ireland, excepting worsted yarn of two or more threads, which has certainly given a considerable check to the running of wool, and has shewn that the policy of opening is far more efficacious than that of restraining. The world is become a great commercial society—exclude trade from one channel, and it seldom fails to find another.

To these sensible remarks, we add those of Anderson, as little a friend to Irish commercial interests as any of his countrymen.

Concerning these laws, (viz. the restrictions on Irish cattle and Irish woollens,) many think them hurtful; and that it would be wiser to suffer the Irish to be employed in breeding and fattening their black cattle for us, than to turn their lands into sheep-walks, as at present; in consequence of which, in spite of all our laws, they supply foreign nations with their wool—(*Anderson, vol. 2, p. 645.*)

The Irish part of the arrangement of 1688–9 being carried out by those who were acting as representatives of Ireland, it is to be seen how the English did their part. And first it is to be here remarked, that nothing can be more unfounded than a notion very prevalent with English writers, and adopted by some Irish, to the effect, that the linen manufacture was left us *as an equivalent* for the taking away of that of woollens. In the first place, why should a country be restricted from any manufacture, in which its inhabitants might consider they could profitably embark? In the next place a manufacture that co-existed with another, can scarcely be considered a proper and real equivalent for the destruction of that other. If a robber deprive his victim of a portion of the contents of his purse, and leave him the remainder, that remainder would not be considered by the victim, or by any body else, as an equivalent for what was taken away. It is true, the linen manufacture had not gone so far as the woollen, but that very circumstance ought to have been an additional reason not to confine Ireland to it alone.

The linen manufacture no equivalent for the loss of the woollen.

Desirous, when practicable, to quote from documents of

Co-existence of both. the present day, particularly from such as have received the parliamentary stamp of acceptance, we insert the following, taken indifferently from the reports of Messrs. Otway and Muggeridge, assistant commissioners.

Report of R. M. Muggeridge, Esq. In a curious little poem written in the reign of Henry VI, about the year 1430, by Haklayt, in the enumeration of the commodities of every country, he mentions the *linen-cloth* of Ireland.

Hand-loom enquiry. In 1533, the act 24 Henry VIII. chap. 4, required "every person occupying 60 acres of tilled land to sow a quarter of an acre yearly in flax or hemp, for the purpose of protecting and encouraging the linen manufacture by an adequate supply of the raw material."

Report of C. G. Otway, Esq. The linen-trade was enumerated as one of the principal branches of Irish manufacture, in the thirty-third of Henry VIII. 1542. In an act of the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign, it was recited, that Irishmen had been exporters of linen for more than 100 years. Lord Strafford adopted extensive measures to encourage the linen manufacture. He sent to Holland for flax-seed, and to the Netherlands for competent workmen. To animate others, he embarked in the business £30,000 of his private fortune. (N.B. This "*private fortune*" mainly consisted of his lion's share of the plunder of Ireland.) But the troubles that then broke out, put a stop to the enterprise. The Duke of Ormond, Charles the Second's lieutenant, sought to revive it, and procured several acts for its encouragement, and for inviting Protestant strangers to settle in the kingdom. He sent Irishmen to be instructed in the details of the linen manufacture in Flanders, and brought over 500 Brabant families, expert in the business, and also operatives from Rochelle, the Isle of Rhe, Jersey, &c., &c. His example was followed by many others, and Lord Dungannon, in Ulster, gave encouragement with great success to the Scotch settlers. Laurence, in his work, entitled "*the Interest of Ireland*," published in 1682, says, "My opinion is, that there is not a greater quantity of linen produced in the like circuit in Europe," &c., &c.

The linen manufacture, then, having co-existed with the woollen, could not properly be an equivalent for the latter, and above all, when, as we have before remarked, it was a more difficult, costly, and uncertain manufacture; and also one yielding much less employment.

But such as it was, did England do her part towards

the so-called international agreement of 1688-9? She was to encourage our linens, and the declaration of her Houses of Parliament to that effect in 1698, were taken as decisive assurances of her determination to follow out the policy indicated in an act of 1696, the 7 & 8 Will. III. chap. 39, which recited "that great sums of money were yearly exported out of England for the purchasing of hemp, flax, and linen, and the productions thereof," which might be prevented by being supplied from Ireland; and therefore natives of England and Ireland were to be allowed to "import into England, free of all duties, hemp, flax, linen, and all the productions thereof."

Did England keep her promise to favour our linen trade?

No further encouragement, however, was given in this respect until the year 1705, when the act 3 & 4 Anne, chap. 8, passed, allowing us to export our white and brown linens to the colonies—a thing which, before the 15 Chas. II. chap. 7, we could do with *all* our commodities, and which proved nugatory as to benefit now, inasmuch as the restraint on our imports from those colonies prevented interchange, and thereby most seriously crippled the trade that otherwise might have taken place.

No steps taken for 6 years.

This restraint on our imports from the colonies had, as we have seen, originated in 1670, by the 22 & 23 Chas. II. chap. 26, and applied to a number of valuable commodities. But its scope was enlarged, and made to include *all* commodities by an act in 1696, the 7 & 8 Will. III. chap. 22. It is true these acts allowed us to get colonial commodities still, but not unless first unloaded and then taken on board again in an English port, and carried in an English vessel.

Any encouragement really given by England to our linen manufacture, was directly with a view to her own benefit—of ours she was little regardful. A duty was indeed placed upon foreign linen, but it was allowed to be drawn back again on exportation from England, and the drawback was found in practice to operate as a *premium* upon German and Russian linens. The bounties given

And then mainly with a view to her own interest.

later on the export of Irish linens from England, were confined to those of 1s. 3d. per yard, and *if stamped*, they forfeited the bounty, although allowed to German stamped linens. The retailing and stamping of our linens in England gave great employment there; and the bounty on Irish export to England was in fact an advantage to the British merchant, as he got into his own hands the business of the re-exportation to foreign countries, to which Ireland ceased to export direct.

Some valuable kinds of our linens shut out from England,

So little was England really disposed to keep her promise, that our linens painted, striped, chequered, printed, stained, or dyed, were practically excluded by her so early as 1711, by the act 10 Anne, chap. 19, which was directed against all such linens made in *foreign* parts, and was, by a strained construction, made to apply to Ireland.

as before from colonies and plantations.

The striped, chequered, &c. linens of the latter country were thus shut out (we have used the word "*practically*" in the preceding paragraph, as the import duties of 30 per cent: imposed by the 10th of Anne, and confirmed by the 11 & 12 Anne, chap. 9, amounted, in practice and effect, to an exclusion) from England; and, by the Navigation Act, 15 Car. II. chap. 7, had before been excluded from America and the British West Indies, into which latter they were not admitted until 1777-8, when the British act 18 Geo. III. chap. 55, passed, allowing them to go there, but without the advantage of the bounty on export, given to similar goods from England to all parts of the world, by an act dated eight years earlier. The admission then allowed was of little practical value, as the restrictions on direct import from the colonies still existed as to many important articles, and of course rendered the colonists very indifferent as to commerce with us.

Advantage to the white and brown linens of England over ours.

We got indeed, *nominally*, equal bounties on export to foreign countries of her white and brown linens, by the 15 Geo. II. chap. 29, but the benefit was infinitely less to us than to England, as we could only get that bounty by exporting from an *English* port, and the expense of freight,

insurance, commission, &c., in this first transit of our linens was computed to deduct 4, and sometimes even 5 or 6 per cent. from the 12 per cent. amount of the premium, whereas the English manufacturer, having comparatively no preliminary charges, was not subject to deductions.

We are by no means done with the exposure of the delusion respecting English encouragement of our linen-trade. While England took away her own market, and that of every part of the globe in which she held power, from our chequered, &c., linens, she endeavoured to deprive them even of our own home market. This she in a great degree accomplished, owing to the inefficiency of the duty on her chequered, striped, &c., linens coming into Ireland. It was no more than 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, and the linen not valued. The power which she had until 1782, of controlling our legislation, by the necessity we were under of submitting all projects of law for the approval of the *English* privy-council, before discussion in the Irish parliament, of course enabled her to prevent all attempts at even making the existing duty effectual.

Our market at her command for every species of linen she chose to manufacture.

But England had the benefit of a *bounty* in addition, and its effects were not only to increase the advantage of English linens of the above kind over those of Ireland, but by raising the price of yarn, to inflict a heavy discouragement on *all* species of Irish linens. A committee of the Irish Commons reported in 1771, "on the linen manufactures of Ireland, and her title to encouragement thereof," and we take the following from one of the papers laid before them by the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture:—

Cheques and striped linens, such as are exported, are generally made of yarn, about 10*d.* or 11*d.* value in the pound, great part of which is imported into Britain from Ireland; and as 1*lb.* of yarn will, on a medium, make upwards of three yards of those cheques or striped goods, a bounty of $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per yard is a premium of upwards of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* on the pound of yarn, in favour of the manufacturer in Britain over the manufacturer in Ireland, from which bounty the Irish cheques striped, or printed

linens, &c., are totally excluded, their importation into Britain being prohibited.

Meantime England had before secured her market for her other linens. This was done by the 3 Geo. I. chap. 21, passed in 1716, whereby the act of the 3 & 4 Anne, allowing export of our linens to the colonies, was enacted to be continued "*so long as the merchants and others of Great Britain shall be permitted to import into Ireland, free of all duties, white and brown linen-cloth.*"*

Breach of
her pro-
mises.

Thus, so far as we have gone, we have seen that England not only deprived us of the manufacture most suited to us, viz., the woollen, and made us confine ourselves to the more expensive and precarious manufacture of linen, but she virtually broke her promise of peculiar encouragement to that, by not passing one law in its favour that she did not give the benefit of, in more ample measure, to herself; and by keeping the Irish market open for her own linens, while she crippled and restricted the entry of those of Ireland into her market.

Our sail-
cloth and
linen manu-
facture
ruined

She did yet more than this to benefit her own interest in this branch, at the expense of Ireland. By an act of the year 1750, the 23rd Geo. II. chap. 32, she heavily taxed the import of sail-cloth made of *Irish* hemp. The consequence to us was this: that whereas in 1750 we exported more sail-cloth than we imported, matters so changed, that in 1784 we were exporting none, and imported 180,000 yards. And for several years after, England herself reaped no benefit from this wanton injury to us, as the trade thus lost to the Irish, fell into the hands of the Russians, Germans, and Dutch,† notwithstanding three or four acts encouraging the manufacture in England and Scotland.

Again, lest by any possibility Ireland should reap

* Clause 4 of this act transferred to the Crown, that portion of the priviledge in former acts, on export of Irish wool, which had previously been applied to the encouragement of the linen manufacture of Ireland!

† See Journals, H. Com. Ireland, years 1774—1784.

much benefit from the act of 1742, (delusive as it was to a great extent,) which gave bounties on the export of Irish, as well as English linens, exported from England, an act of the year 1756, the 29 *Geo. II. chap. 15*, provided, that no Irish linen so exported should be entitled to the bounty, if it were the property of a resident in Ireland!

Further restriction on our linen trade.

But it was not alone her own linen trade which England encouraged, and gave advantages to, beyond what she did to redeem her engagement of fostering that of Ireland. The Scotch were also brought into the field, to compete with the Irish in that trade. This was immediately a necessity of the times after the union with Scotland, when it was important to do all that could be done, to calm down the irritation in that country, produced by the carrying of that measure.

Encouragement of Scotch linens.

Accordingly a portion of the sum given to Scotland, under the terms of the Act of Union, as an "equivalent" for her assuming joint fiscal responsibility with England, was specially allocated for the encouragement of her manufactures, including her linen.*

Special legislation for the same purpose followed, particularly by the Act 13 *Geo. I. chap. 26*; and from thenceforward every advantage which England gave her own linen and hempen manufactures, she gave equally to those

* This grant, given under the act of Scotch Union, and confirmed and explained by the 13 *Geo. I. chap. 30*, was of the amount of £2000—a very large sum at that time to so exceedingly poor a country as Scotland. It was to be an annuity redeemable at any time by the English parliament, on payment of £40,000. What occurred? The "Board of Commissioners for encouragement of Scottish Manufactures," which was created for the management of this fund, "did not begin operations till 1727; by which time (i. e. 20 years from the Union) £40,000 had accumulated, on which, after termination of the series of years, Government have, EVER SINCE, paid £2000 a year as interest." The words in inverted commas are from a letter written in February, 1841, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, "Secretary to the Royal Board of Manufactures, Edinburgh," addressed to "J. R. Mallet, Esq., Capel-street, Dublin," and published, it is to be supposed with the consent of both gentlemen, in the Dublin papers of the above month. One thing seems to be omitted in Sir T. Lauder's statement, viz.—that the "series of years" which he speaks of, was only determinable on the payment of £40,000. Now as he states that this series *did* terminate, it follows, that not only have the Scotch manufacturers had the benefit of the annual £2000 for 116 years; but that while yet in their infancy, they got in a lump sum, £40,000. (See section 14 of the Act 13 *Geo. I. chap. 30*.)

of Scotland; and therefore of course placed those of the latter in the same position of advantage as her own, over the similar manufactures of Ireland. Nay, in 1753, she gave the Scotch an advantage to some degree over herself, by the act 26 Geo. II. chap. 20, which withdrew the export bounty on English and Irish coarse linens, and enacted that £3000 a year for nine years should be given as bounty upon that export from Scotland.

Our complaint not against favor to Scotland, but against oppression of us.

Our complaint is not against the abstract fact of Scotland's being brought into the field as a competitor with us. No such false view of political economy, or social justice, is taken in Ireland, as that either of the other portions of the empire should be; or should have been, debarred from seeking their national prosperity, by all the means placed at their disposal by the bounteous providence of heaven. Our proper and real ground of complaint is, that we should have been deprived of one manufacture, while the other portions of the empire were left at liberty to pursue it, as well as all other branches of industry.

Circumstances that facilitated the depression of our manufacturing industry.

Mr. Assistant Commissioner Otway, in his report to the hand-loom weavers' commission, (part iii. February, 1840,) has ascribed to its true cause, the rapidity with which, before the mere breath of the legislature, Irish manufactures, though long established, and apparently vigorous in growth, declined and disappeared. His remarks on this subject well merit perusal, and therefore we insert them at length, although that length is considerable for our limits, and that we do not altogether concur in one or two of the positions laid down by him:—

One great and fatal error in the system of colonization to which I have adverted was, that it became a fixed principle of policy to exclude the native Irish from the benefits of all the improved arts introduced by the new settlers. It had been found, that the Anglo-Norman lords who had obtained estates from the Plantagenets, became, in the course of time, alienated from English allegiance and usages; to use the phrase of the day, they were "*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.*" To prevent such a result from the new settlement was perversely regarded

as an object of greater importance than the settlement itself; it was said to be essentially necessary "to preserve and maintain an English interest in Ireland." But for the unhappy difference of religion between the settlers and the natives, this exclusive system would not have been long maintained; the Irish and the English would gradually have amalgamated, like the Normans and the Saxons; but the distinction of religion gave strength and permanence to the distinction of race, and rendered the line of demarcation scarcely less broad than if it had been perpetuated by difference of colour and physical organization.

The hand-loom weavers, the wool-combers, the clothiers, the dyers, the white-smiths, and even the mariners, in the South of Ireland, were so exclusively Protestant, that they would not allow a Roman Catholic apprentice to be received in any of their trades. The only branch of manufactures permitted to "the mere Irish" was that of brogues or common shoes; and even this trade was not permitted to be carried on within the precincts of walled towns. Hence, these manufactures were, and continued to be, exotics; they struck no root in the soil.

The early settlers were long a flourishing and numerous body. In 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed in several small towns in Munster; and the Protestant artizans raised a respectable army to resist James. At an earlier period the desertion of the royal cause by the Munster Protestants, under Lord Broghill and Inchiquin, was the principal cause of the easy conquest by Cromwell. It may be added, that James II., in his letters, ascribes his failures in Ireland to the fact that the Protestants alone understood the art of making and mending gun-locks, and that in consequence he never was able to keep his partisans supplied with serviceable arms.

During the reigns of William and Anne this exclusion of the Irish from all manufactures was rigorously continued; but to compensate for this, great encouragement was given to the immigration of foreign Protestants, especially the Huguenots, who had fled from France on the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The bigotry of Louis the XIV. upset the magnificent schemes of his minister, Colbert, by the expulsion of his Huguenot subjects; and numbers of these men brought their arts, their industry, their capital, and their faith into Ireland—they established several branches of trade in various parts of the country—the woollen manufacture in the South—linens and cambrics in the Counties of Down and Armagh, and the silk manufacture in Dublin. In support of these refugees, and the arts they carried with them, the Irish landed proprietors were very active—a subscription was raised, as appears from Primate Boulter's letters, for establishing the cambric

manufacture in the town of Dundalk, amounting to £30,000, and a Monsieur De Joncourt was appointed to collect French operatives, and conduct the establishment. But the Huguenots adopted the baneful system of exclusion, and exerted themselves to prevent the Irish from learning their arts or profiting by their industry. The Duke of Ormonde, following the example of the Earl of Cork, also prohibited the instruction of Roman Catholic apprentices, as did the principal landholders, who encouraged foreigners to settle on their estates.

Now this exclusive system at once destroyed the basis of all manufacturing prosperity—the home market. The fabrics introduced by the English and French settlers were of a superior quality, for which the native Irish could only gradually acquire a want, as they were raised in the scale of civilization. But instead of thus raising them, the foreign manufacturers, aided by the legislature, employed every possible means to depress them, and thus blindly drove from their market a whole nation of customers, and confined them to the use of the rude and cheap fabrics which were woven amongst themselves. The manufacturers were thus forced to rely on their foreign trade; but here they came into competition with the English merchants, and aroused the spirit of commercial jealousy.

The act of William, prohibiting the export of Irish wool and woollens, destroyed the Irish woollen manufactures, simply because they depended almost solely on foreign sale for their support. There was no independent peasantry, or respectable wealthy and middle class, for them to supply.

The Irish legislature saw this decline of manufactures, but could not discover a remedy; it attempted to supply the want of a home market by bounties, duties, and premiums. These, of course, aggravated the evil. The manufacturers looked to the premiums and the parliament, instead of their own industry and the market, and expected that customers could be created by a statute. The manufactures in most places sunk by the sure process of gradual decay. Even where they maintained a lingering existence, the fabrics they produced became greatly deteriorated in quality.

It may be asked why the manufactures of the North did not share the same fate of those of the South; but the question is easily solved by a glance at the state of the population in the province of Ulster. The settlement in Ulster was more complete and extensive than that in any other part of Ireland. The natives had been either wholly exterminated or driven into mountainous and remote districts. The landlords and tenants in the manufacturing districts of the North thus belong to one class, they did not regard each other as hereditary enemies; there was no legacy of oppression on one side, and revenge on the

other. The Ulster tenant felt (and feels) he had a property in his farm—something on the earth he could call his own; and the fruits of his industry would be allowed to accumulate into a small capital, and in point of fact, such an accumulation did take place; for the greater part of the capital in the linen manufactures of Ulster, was derived from the savings of agricultural industry, and hence arose the numerous class who were each at the same time a farmer, a weaver, and a linen-dealer (jobber). In the south of Ireland the title to property was unsettled; for more than a century confiscation and re-confiscation followed each other; until the Acts of Settlement and Explanation secured the followers of Cromwell in their estates; there was no community of feeling or interest between the proprietor and the occupants brought about by these acts. The great object was to establish an English interest in Ireland; and to accomplish this hereditary policy, the two last Stuarts, while they patronised Roman Catholics in their own courts, rigorously maintained the new Protestant proprietary in the South of Ireland. It was not until James the 2nd was driven from England, that he would allow even of an enquiry into the Act of Settlement, and it is doubtful whether he would have consented, even in Dublin, to its repeal, if a large portion of the re-confiscations had not reverted to the crown. The repeal of the Irish Act of Settlement, by the parliament of James the 2nd, gave the Protestant proprietors a fright from which they have not perfectly recovered even to this day: since that time they have been persuaded that every change of policy, or isolated disturbance, threatens their titles; they deem that they only garrison their estates, and therefore they look upon the native occupants (I cannot call them tenants) as persons ready to eject them upon a favourable opportunity. Hence, the Munster landlord was afraid to give the persons who occupied his ground a permanent hold upon the land, or a beneficial interest in its occupancy.

The old struggle of title, in natural course, produced the new contest of tenure; and Captain Rock and Lady Clare were as legitimately descended from the Catholic lords of the pale, as Jack Straw and Wat Tyler were from the Saxon thanes, who fought at Hastings. *There is, and, until the relations between landlord and occupant are altered, there can be no accumulation of savings in the South of Ireland from agricultural industry*—and hence there was not and can be no spontaneous growth of manufactures from small capitals.

Another reason for the greater prosperity of the linen manufacture in the North of Ireland is, that in Ulster a moderate modus was established for the tithe of the flax; but all efforts to have the same modus extended to the rest of Ireland were defeated by the pertinacious opposition of the ecclesiastical au-

thorities. Without at all entering on the general question of tithe, or the policy of taxing the raw materials of industry, it is enough to state that the impost on flax proved to be so heavy, that the farmers found it to be an unprofitable crop, and it was never cultivated, except in very small patches, in the South of Ireland.

In the present day the principal impediments to the growth of manufacturing industry arise from the want of a comfortable middle class, and the condition of the agricultural population.

Injury to the cause of truth from the one-sided reports to the Imperial Parliament.

In all this mass of rational remark, and clear-headed tracing out of cause and effect, it is singular that there should be only one sentence given to those active efforts of English commercial jealousy, the facile and successful operation of which he so well attributes, in the main, to the narrow basis to which sectarian bigotry restricted our manufactures. The reason of his avoidance of this topic, must simply have been, because his report was to be presented to an English parliament. Ever since the Union, this circumstance has exercised an influence most injurious to the interests of Ireland, and of truth and justice, over the reports of committees and commissioners of enquiry, into matters affecting the international relations between the two countries. Mr. Otway's report is one of the very few honorable exceptions, in which that influence has not been allowed to extend as far as the *suggestio falsi*, however partly chargeable with the *omissio veri*.

The unavoidable length to which we have already gone necessitates as brief a handling as possible, of the remainder of our subject.

England's jealousy consistent.

The commercial jealousy of England was consistent throughout. We have seen that our woollen goods were practically excluded from her ports, while she had the command of ours. Nay she had been able to obtain from the Irish parliament in 1662, before the first fervour of its interested loyalty after the restoration of Charles II. had subsided, the prohibition by the Irish Act 14 and 15 Chas. II. chap. 8, of foreign woollen goods in Irish ports; a concession in her favour that her conduct two years

Exercised against our woollens.

before, in shutting her ports to our woollens, very little deserved. But the same miserable spirit actuated that parliament as prevailed in that of King William—namely, that of making any sacrifice of national interests to obtain security for their own particular interests; so many of its members being persons who had acquired their properties by rapine and murder in the time of Cromwell's blood-stained rule over Ireland.

We have also seen how scarcely even colourable the promise to encourage our linen manufacture was proved to be. The historian Barlow well denominates it as “moonshine,” and says that “England departed from the letter and the spirit of that compact”—(vol. i. chap. 10.)

By the Acts 15 Chas. II. chap. 5; 3 and 4 Anne, chap. 4; 4 and 5 William and Mary, chap. 5, Irish cotton manufactures were subjected to 25 per cent. on import into England; and lest this enormous charge should not be enough to exclude them, the Act 7 Geo. I. chap. 7, enacted penalties on the wearing of any such manufactures in Great Britain, unless there made. On the other hand, British cottons went into Ireland in immense quantities at only 10 per cent.

Irish beer and malt were excluded from England, and her beer and malt sent into Ireland at almost a nominal duty. The 9th Anne, chap. 12, prohibited us from importing hops from any other place but Great Britain, styling such importation “a public and common nuisance.” So determined were the English parliament that we should not otherwise be supplied in this particular, that when the prohibition of direct importation from the colonies and plantations of colonial goods was first relaxed, (which it was by the 4th Geo. II. chap. 16, passed in 1805, and declared to be so passed,) not on account of the hardship of the previous restrictions to us, but of “*great prejudice to the trade and navigation of Great Britain and the said colonies,*” a statute was specially passed the year afterwards, (viz. the 5th Geo. II. chap. 2,) declaring that

Against
our linens.

Cottons.

Beer and
malt.

Import of
hops.

the trifling relaxation enacted by the before-mentioned act should not be construed to allow hops into Ireland from those quarters, and four years afterwards the 7th Geo. II. chap. 19, further enforced and strengthened the restrictions.

This injustice will appear gross, and yet it is not all stated. Not only were we prevented supplying ourselves with hops elsewhere than from England, but the duty on their export from thence was not allowed to be drawn back in favour of the Irish consumer, and the money thus most unfairly wrung from him, was appropriated to the payment of an English debt!

Export of
Cattle.

The exclusion of our cattle, by the act of 1663, has been mentioned before. It had not, indeed, excluded them in words, but the high duties then enacted, operated as a prohibition, and, with the additional precaution that marked the carrying out of all these injustices, another act was passed shortly after, (the 18th Chas II. chap. 2,) specially, and in terms, prohibiting our cattle, and declaring that their import into England was "a public and common nuisance!"

We have before given an extract from Anderson, vol. xi. p. 645, describing these laws as unwise, and now quote him again.

Ireland is really a mine of treasure to Great Britain, and is so perhaps in a much greater degree than our American plantations; since so much of what is gained in Ireland, centres at length in Britain. Every severe step taken by us with regard to Ireland, has been advantageous to our foreign rivals. It is now clearly seen that the prohibition of live cattle from Ireland, in order to raise the price of our lands, was not well-judged. Even the restrictive laws on the woollen manufactures of Ireland forced the Irish workmen to settle in France; and thereby laid the foundation for the great woollen manufactures of that kingdom.

It is instructive to observe, in these and other extracts we have given, the quiet way in which every thing is argued for, and on account of, English interests; those of

Ireland being totally left out of the question. This of course is natural ; but is also very significant.

The English parliament excluded our cattle, but it was the wish of the English people to have them ; and accordingly “ they set about defeating the intentions of the legislature.” This is proved by the confessions in the angry preambles of successive acts passed to enforce those of 1663 and 1666. At length the legislature had to give way under this pressure ; and Irish cattle, and the provisions, &c. manufactured from them, (which also had been excluded by an act of 1680,) were, in the reign of George the 2nd, admitted again into England ; at first temporarily, but the acts opening the ports to them were continually and easily renewed.

Hats, glass, gunpowder, coals, bar-iron, iron-ware, and several other matters, some of which Ireland had not to export, and others of which she had very little, were at different times the objects of English restrictions ; whenever it was fancied that English interests were at all threatened by them. One of the most important of these articles, was that of glass ; which, by an act of the 19th year of George the 2nd, Ireland was prohibited from importing from any country but Great Britain, and could not export the article at all. Other miscellaneous articles.

In addition to the discouragements affecting our silk manufacture, in common with our other manufactures, it had the further discouragement, that coming to us as the raw material did, through England, the sum of three-pence in the pound was retained there, of the original import duty in that country ; and the price thereby so much enhanced to us in addition to the benefit, at our expense, to the English revenue. Also silk.

It was impossible for a country thus hampered and restricted, not only in every point where competition with her jealous and powerful neighbour was at all likely, but in many where the apprehension of it was utterly without foundation, to make any real advances towards commercial The results affected not only Ireland, but the British colonies.

nial, &c.
possession.

prosperity. From the British possessions in both hemispheres, she was shut out, (from the East Indies by a clause in the 7th George I., chap. 21, but practically before,) as although she still could import their commodities through England, the trade was unable to bear the delays and expense of the double journey. These restraints were ultimately injurious to the British possessions; as Ireland, unable to supply herself from them, had to get from foreign countries the materials for ship-building, some of those articles used in perfecting her staple manufacture, and other valuable imports. But of course the weight of the injury was upon Ireland, and to it was owing her poverty and embarrassments of the greater part of the eighteenth century.

Refer-
ence to
testimo-
nies, as to
the injury
to Ire-
land.

We have quoted at an early period of this article, authorities as to the prosperity of Ireland previous to the destruction of her natural staple, the woollen manufacture. After that the story was different. In the session of 1763, the Irish Commons laid before Queen Anne a true state of the deplorable condition of the country. They complained of vast decay and loss of its trade—its being almost exhausted of coin—of the poor having become very numerous—of the foreign trade and its returns being under such restrictions and discouragements as to be then become impracticable; *although the kingdom of Ireland had by its blood and treasure contributed to secure the plantation trade to the people of England.*

At the end of the session, Mr. Speaker Brodrick, (afterwards Lord Chancellor) declared in his speech to the Lord Lieutenant, that the representations made by the Commons were their unanimous voice; and that they hoped they might be allowed such a proportion of trade, that they may recover from the great poverty they now lie under. (*Irish Com. Jour.* 3 vol. pp. 149—208.)

In the journals of the Irish Commons, from thenceforward till within the last 20 years of the eighteenth century, will be found declaration after declaration, admission after admission, complaint after complaint, of the poverty and

wretchedness of Ireland—the want of employment among her people—the wretched condition of her trade—the consequent inability of the country to support her public burthens—and the cruelty of the restrictions that fettered and crippled her industry. Scarcely two years elapsed during the interval we have mentioned, without some of these disheartening records. The Irish parliament was impotent to redress the evils, whose existence they thus recorded, not only as contained in resolutions and remonstrances of their own, but as admitted and acknowledged in speeches to them from the vice-throne. They were then under the fetters of Poyning's law, and the acts confirming it; and no bill for effectual relief of these distresses, by opening up the restricted and impeded sources of industry, would get the sanction of the English Privy Council, to which the laws in question compelled every legislative project to be submitted for approval, ere it could be introduced into the Irish parliament. This was the state of things until 1780—2.

But we need not delay upon this part of our subject, when we have the strong English testimony bearing upon it, with which this article commences.

Meantime the linen manufacture undoubtedly increased; but there was little of natural vigour and stability about it. What progress it did make was mainly owing to the unremitting care and attention of the Irish parliament, so far as lay in their power; and to the impulse it received by the large immigration of foreign Protestants, versed in the manufacture, who were driven from France by the execrable revocation of the edict of Nantes. In the hand-loom weavers' report it is stated, that the Irish parliament from 1700 up to 1777, expended in the encouragement of the linen trade, the sum of £1,295,560.

Forcing
of the
linen ma-
nufac-
ture.

In the speeches from the vice-throne to the Irish parliament throughout the century, exhortations to the encouragement of that trade, coupled, as it invariably was, with that of the Protestant charter schools—the phrase

being "those sources of honest industry and pure religion," are to be found as regularly recurring as the "phrases banales" of royal speeches in our own days respecting the "assurances from foreign powers," and the "economy" with which the "estimates are framed."

The decisive proof, were such wanted, that the linen trade was not a healthy natural effort of the industry of the country, and exercising a genial influence on the national prosperity, is given by the very fact of its having required this constant encouragement and attention.

Additional
injustice
of
England.

To the enumeration in detail of English injuries to our trade, we have unfortunately to add one striking instance, general in its effect. From 1740 to 1759 there were no less than 24 embargoes in Ireland! One of these lasted three years—viz., from 1776 to 1779, when Irish provisions were restrained from being sent any where, but into England—nor was this altogether relaxed even in the latter year, as they were still restrained from being sent to America, the West Indies, or indeed any place out of Europe.

Thus, by all possible means—namely, by direct and actively oppressive legislation—by false interpretation and forced construction of laws supposed to have no such object—by real breach under a seeming observance of international engagements—and even by an unconstitutional exercise of the prerogative, Irish industry and enterprise were cruelly restrained and repressed to the verge of ruin.

Remarks.
1st, Our
religious
discord
enabled
her to
tyran-
nize.

We now approach the time when England had to retrace her steps. Ere, however, leaving the first branch of our subject, we would make two short remarks. The first is, that the wretched history we have been detailing, ought to make an impression upon every honest Irishman, and warn him from that execrable religious discord which so divided the nation against itself, as to render it incapable of resisting these monstrous outrages.

2nd, She
allowed us
to follow

Secondly, it is to be remarked generally on the conduct of England towards the only manufacture she allowed us

any freedom in following, viz. the linen, that what freedom she gave, it was little other than that which the cat gives the mouse; whom she releases for an instant, certain of being able to put her paw on it when she pleases. England was not inclined towards the linen manufacture herself, at the close of the 17th century, and to remove a rival in the woollen, had no objection to allow Ireland to follow the former; reserving to herself, as we have seen, advantages over the Irish linens, (not only by restrictions and cramping regulations of our export, and greater bounties and facilities in that respect for herself, but also by the complete command of our ports,) so as that whenever her own manufacturers should please to turn their attention to linen, they would have little need to dread Irish competition. In either country the woollen manufacture was the natural staple. In either it was the most profitable. The similarity of climate rendered flax-seed an equally precarious crop in both countries—and in both it was of course a crop equally exhausting to the soil. Was it not cruel that the poorer country, Ireland, should be forced to confine herself to the more difficult and costly branch of manufacture; *and yet have no security even in the pursuit of that?*

the linen trade only during her pleasure.

The inevitable necessity of things, and not the considerations of justice and humanity, compelled England to retrace many of her steps in her course of commercial, as she did subsequently with regard to political oppression. She began to find out that she had been hurting herself in her over-eagerness to dominate over Ireland. We have before mentioned the first indications of this discovery, when, so early as 1739 (by the act 3rd Geo. II. chap. 3) she had so far to relax her restrictions on our products, as to allow import of Irish woollen or bay yarn, as her own manufacturers were beginning to feel grievously the impetus given to the French woollen-trade by the immense smuggled export of Irish wool to that country.* It had then been

Relaxation in her injustices owing to necessity, not benevolence.

* Mr. Ray, (Secretary to the Repeal Association,) in a brief but most excellent Report drawn up by him in 1840, on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland, treats of the occurrence of 1739 as follows:—

ascertained, that (to use the expression of the writers of that day) "one pack of Irish wool became two or three on the continent," as it enabled the foreigner, by admixture, to work up his own wool. Sir Mathew Decker in his "Decline of Foreign Trade," and Dr. Smith in his "Memoirs of Wool," both show how England suffered in this respect, and record, that though Irish wool sold at about 50 per cent. advance on the price in England, yet that labour in foreign countries was so much cheaper, and the advantages derivable by foreigners from mixing the Irish wool with their own, that they were enabled to undersell England in foreign markets.

The authorities we have mentioned (and various other writers) equally reprobated, and for similar reasons, the acts restricting import of Irish cattle and provisions into England, as we have earlier stated; it was in the same reign (viz., Geo. II.) in which Great Britain found it better for her interest to admit them, to exclude Irish wool and yarn, that she made the same discovery as to the articles of cattle and provisions.

English
testimony
to this
effect.

These relaxations were prompted, as we have said, by a better understanding of her own interests, and were far more beneficial to the latter than to Ireland. Of the same description were those which succeeded them in 1778 and 1779, the one admitting Irish manufactured cotton yarn, and the other admitting Irish hemp.* The *manufacturers*

"In 1739 it was found that Irish woollens were making their way to foreign ports, notwithstanding the stringency of the prohibitory laws. Permission was therefore given to export woollen and bay yarns to England, 'as it may be a means,' says the act, (12 Geo. II. chap. 11,) 'to prevent export of wool and woollen manufactures from Ireland to foreign parts, and may also be of use to the manufactures of Great Britain.' And more strict provisions against export of Irish woollen goods to foreign parts were embodied in this statute."

After this the reader can judge for himself of the degree of "beneficiality" that suggested this first relaxation.

* We purposely omit here the 18 Geo. III. chap. 55, allowing some direct export from Ireland to the British colonial possessions—first, because of its insultingly limited extent, and second, because it was futile in practice, owing to the restrictions on our direct import in return. We also omit two acts of Geo. II. which mocked us by nibbling at those restrictions, &c.

of Ireland *from* the woollen and cotton yarn, and from the hamp, were still rigorously excluded. At length came the time that no words of ours can so well describe, as it is described in the extract we have given at the commencement of this article, from the speech of the celebrated Mr. Huskisson in 1825—the time when “state-necessities acting under a sense of political danger, yielded without grace that which good sense and good feeling had before recommended in vain !”

The following is a summary of the events of this time: The “necessity” pressing on her in 1779.

On the failure of the attempt in 1779 (mentioned by Mr. Huskisson,) to effect a real, though partial, opening of the colonial trade to Ireland, the citizens of Dublin, the grand juries in many parts of Ireland, and the people throughout the country, met and passed strong resolutions in their different assemblies, condemnatory of the “avarice and ingratitude” of Great Britain—her “illiberal and contracted policy,” &c., &c., and pledging themselves to Irish manufacture. The author of “*Collectanea Politica*,” (in the first volume of which, pages 161–2, will be found some of these resolutions,) after remarking, that in consequence of this resolve Irish manufactures began to revive, and the demand for British goods greatly decreased, dryly observes, that “*this circumstance tended to produce a disposition in Great Britain, to attend to the complaints of this country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced.*”

External circumstances hastily ripened this disposition; France had joined her arms with those of struggling America, and the scale was turning against British interests in the new hemisphere. The combined fleets of France and Spain “rode triumphant in the channel.” “The affrighted maritime towns made application to the Government for protection; part of the established forces of the nation having been called away to support the war in America, the Chief Governor was obliged to confess himself unable to afford assistance.....The people of

Ireland therefore resolved to defend themselves,—volunteer corps were formed in every part of the kingdom; their force and respectability saved the country from ruin. The fleets of the enemy, alarmed at our military preparations, beheld the banners of defiance, and fled with precipitation from our coasts. Parliament bore testimony to the services and loyalty of these patriotic guardians of Ireland, in votes of thanks to the several volunteer corps, for their spirited exertions, at this time so necessary in defence of this country.”—*Collectanea Politica, or, the Political Transactions of Ireland, from 1760 to 1800, vol. i. p. 166.*

Address
of the
Irish
Parliament
to the
King.

The Irish parliament meeting on the 12th of October, 1778, the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, in his speech from the throne, drew attention to the “extraordinary decline of the revenues, notwithstanding the very liberal supplies of the last session,” and called upon the country for new efforts. The Commons, however, after a warm and interesting debate, replied by an address to the King, as follows:—

We beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin. And from your Majesty's gracious declaration—imprinted in our hearts in characters of indelible gratitude—that “anxious for the happiness of all your people, you will meet cheerfully co-operate with your parliament in such measures as may promote the common interests of all your subjects,” we draw the happiest presages in favour of a measure essential to the prosperity of this Kingdom, and which appears to us conducive to the interests of Great Britain.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we have every disposition to go as far as the national abilities will, in making a provision for the honourable support of your Majesty's government, but with hearts glowing with the warmest wishes for the prosperity and glory of the British empire, and full of zeal against the common enemy, we have the mortification to find, that the limited state of our trade and commerce must, by unimproving our resources, set bounds to our liberality, very far short of our warmest wishes.—*Irish Citizens' Journal, vol. vii.*

They were fully borne out by facts in the matters they thus advanced. Irish debt had enormously increased in consequence of the falling of the revenue, and so also had her drains. The profits of Ireland on *all* the trade that she had, were not estimated higher than £600,000 a year, while her remittances to England were computed at more than double that amount. But it is unnecessary to go into proofs of the distress of Ireland, when we have the admissions in the English parliament, not only on the occasions and by the persons which are mentioned in our first pages, but *general* admissions in 1778–9, as will be seen by reference to the debates in the English parliament during those years. In the latter year the ministry of the day, in defending themselves against the charge of having occasioned the grievances of Ireland, declared “*that her grievances originated many years before, in the general system of trade laws—that the restrictions then laid on arose from a narrow, short-sighted policy, which, though conceived in prejudice, and founded on ignorance, was yet so strengthened by time, and confirmed by the habits of a century, that it seemed at length wrought into, and became even a part of the constitution.*”—(*Coll. Pol.* p. 173.)

Notwithstanding these things, nothing was done in the way of relief at that moment. Immediately after, however, the Irish parliament took the strong measure of limiting the supplies to six months; and this was effective where argument failed, and accordingly the British minister at length proceeded to give relief. The various propositions for the purpose, from the first starting of the matter in 1778, were as follows:

England coerced into relaxation.

In 1778, Lord Newhaven moved, in the English parliament, that Ireland should be allowed freedom of export, except of her woollen manufactures; and should have liberty of trading to and from America, the West Indies, and the Coast of Africa.

From this position he was gradually beaten down; until in March, 1779, he had to reduce his motion to one for a

Details.

repeal, in so far as related to the article of sugar, of that part of the Navigation Act of 1663, which compelled sugar intended for Ireland, to be first landed in England. This he at first carried by a majority of 47 to 42—but being afterwards deserted by the minister, on account of the violent outcry of English and Scotch great towns, the motion was finally lost on a division of 62 to 58.

In November of that year, the Irish parliament resolved unanimously—

That the export from this kingdom of its woollen and other manufactures to all foreign places, would materially relieve its distresses, increase its wealth, promote its prosperity, and thereby advance the welfare of Great Britain, and the common strength, wealth, and commerce of the British empire.

That a liberty for this kingdom to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the Coast of Africa, in like manner as trade is carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements, would be productive of very great commercial benefits—would be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to our distresses—and would give new vigour to the zeal of his Majesty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, to stand forward in support of his Majesty's person and government, and the interest, the honour, and the dignity of the British empire."—(*Commons' Journal*, Vol. 19.)

The British minister, coerced by the gathered force of public opinion, and the powerful additional stimulant of the short-money-bill from Ireland, accordingly moved on the 13th December, 1779, three propositions—first, for the repeal of those laws which prohibited export of Irish woollen goods and wool flocks to any part of Europe; second, that so much of the Act 19 Geo. II. as forbade import of glass into Ireland, save of British manufacture, and also forbade export of glass from Ireland, should be repealed; and third, that Ireland should have freedom of trade to all the British colonial settlements, subject to such limitations and regulations as the parliament of Ireland should impose.

The two first were quickly passed into law—the third

was delayed till the next session, on the plea of some inquiry being necessary into its probable effect in Ireland. In the latter country the partial concessions were received in so good a spirit, that the supplies were immediately granted for a year and a half more.

The
"FREE"
TRADE"
of 1779-
80.

But this satisfaction was by no means unalloyed or lasting. England, unwisely for her own views of policy, had provoked the question of her right to control the legislature of Ireland—a question which had always been present to the Irish mind; and towards the discussion of which that mind had been of late strongly tending, with the determined purpose of asserting independence of legislation. The privy council in England altered a mutiny bill, (by making it perpetual,) sent over as usual for their approbation, from Ireland. This was altogether an unconstitutional proceeding, and woke up at once the smouldering flame. In this article we have to deal only with commercial matters, so do not go into the details of the constitutional agitation and demand which then arose, further than in so far as commerce was concerned. The alteration in the mutiny-bill was accompanied by a nearly equally exasperating alteration in a bill respecting the import of sugars. The business of sugar-refining had recently taken great head in Ireland, and the parliament here sought to defend it against the English monopoly by an import duty on refined sugar; while they sought to give it a fair stimulus by admitting raw sugar at a low rate. This the privy council reversed, reducing the duty on refined sugar 20 per cent. under the drawback allowed in England to the English refiner on export, and thereby giving the latter a virtual *premium* to that amount—and also increasing the duty on the raw sugar.

Fresh in-
vasions of
Irish
rights.

The time was ill-chosen for further invasions on Irish rights. Irritation had long been rankling in Ireland at the restrictions on her commerce; and it had indeed already broken out into an overt act. One of the Dublin Corporation, Alderman Horan, resolved to test the question,

Their
conse-
quences.

whether the Irish woollen trade could be *legally* bound by the *English* act of William's reign, restricting it from foreign export. The act passed by the obsequious Irish parliament of that time, for the same purpose, had long before 1771 become extinct. Accordingly he tendered for entry *outwards*, at the Custom-house, Irish woollen goods. He was dissuaded from pressing the point at the moment: but the affair made great sensation—and (as we see from official documents copied in the laborious and most interesting memoir of his father's life, from the pen of Henry Grattan, the excellent member for Meath) drew the serious and alarmed attention of the government.

These points of alterations in the mutiny bill and the sugar bill, were not considered in the Irish parliament till August 1780; and the delay by no means tended to calm the existing irritation—but grievously to impair the feelings of satisfaction and gratitude, which the Irish people had been disposed to demonstrate, after the commercial relaxations we have mentioned, as enacted in the English parliament in the month of February. Several minor circumstances concurred to exasperate them still further, and to render irrevocable, and soon after irresistible, their determination to have a free parliament, without which they saw they never could obtain the full extension of their trade, amongst other benefits sought, nor even be sure of preserving what had been conceded to them.

The Irish parliament disgraced itself at this juncture, by sanctioning the alterations in question. Their conduct in this respect excited great indignation against themselves; and the Merchants' Corps of Volunteers, the Independent Dublin and Liberty Corps, and several other corps, and the general body of the citizens of Dublin, passed strong resolutions in their several meetings, condemnatory of the conduct of their legislature—which, in its turn, passed a vote of censure on these proceedings, and addressed the Viceroy to prosecute their authors.

In the short session of the year 1781 the chief matters

of debate were the obstructions given to our woollens and printed linens in the ports of Portugal, and the disastrous effects to our sugar-refineries of the measure of the preceding year. On this point several members of the mercantile body were examined at the bar of the commons, and their evidence of the mischief done was strongly supported and urged by Grattan, Flood, and other patriots, but without any good result. The other matter, the dispute with Portugal, had its origin in a measure of the preceding session, which raised the duties on port wine; at the same time, however, that the previous advantage which that wine had possessed over those of France was proportionately preserved, by an equal increase upon the previously higher duties on the latter. In the two months of the session of 1782, the attention of the government was several times called to the dispute, but without success. Early in the ensuing session, however, viz., on the 6th of February, 1782, the House unanimously adopted an address to the Throne, calling the royal attention to the conduct of Portugal, and soliciting his Majesty's interference to procure an abatement of the grievance complained of. The royal answer, received March 5th, promised compliance with the request, but further than the giving of this promise nothing was done.

Irish
interests
neglected
and sacri-
ficed.

In another article of this appendix we treat of the glorious achievement in 1782, of legislative independence; at present it is not properly within our scope to speak of it, as we are dealing with the *commercial* relations of the countries alone.

We have now seen the full extent of the relaxations obtained by Ireland up to 1782, in the rigid exclusion-code which England had enacted against our manufactures. Ireland by them obtained liberty of trade with foreign countries and the dependencies of Great Britain, (excepting the *East Indies*,) but trade with Britain herself remained in nearly as unequal and unjust a condition as ever; she took from us little else but our inferior linens and our linen

Really li-
mited na-
ture of th
"FREE
TRADE"
of 1782.

yarn, which we could have worked up more profitably at home; and the whole sum she spent upon our products was estimated not to exceed half-a-million at the utmost. On the other hand, we took largely of her manufactures, and paid her about two millions of money for them. Some idea of the discrepancy of the customs' rates between the two countries may be formed from the fact, that English cloths were charged only with 6*d.* per yard on entering Ireland, whereas Irish were shut out of British ports by the enormous charge of £2 0*s.* 6*d.* per yard. In fact the "Free Trade" obtained in 1782, although an immense improvement on the previously existing state of things, was a most maimed and halting measure, and almost altogether justified the assurances that the British minister, Lord North, found himself compelled to give, in circular letters, to the manufacturing towns of England, to the effect that "*nothing effectual had been granted to Ireland*"

Proof of
deceits of
the Eng-
lish minis-
ters.

Yet, neither these assurances, nor the facts that to a considerable extent bore them out, were successful in satisfying the griping spirit of the English manufacturers and traders. The concessions, "ineffectual" as they were thus represented to be, and limited most unfairly, as they undoubtedly were, yet looked too large in the eyes of selfish monopoly; and in three years from their date, Mr. Pitt, who had in 1782 declared them to be nothing more than what Ireland had the merest and purest right to demand, had to conciliate public opinion in England, by stigmatizing them as "ignorant and unsystematic," and such as required limitation.

Examina-
tions of
the pro-
positions
of 1785.

The occasion on which he did so, was in 1785, when bringing forward the celebrated "commercial propositions" of that year. Whether those propositions had any better foundations in "British generosity" than any of the preceding changes proposed, or effected, in the commercial relations of the two countries, will be seen on perusing the account we now proceed to give of them.

In Ireland they were, and have been up to the present

day, usually styled, "Orde's propositions," from their having been first brought forward by Mr. Orde, Secretary for Ireland. On the 17th of February, 1785, he introduced them to the Irish House of Commons, in the following shape :—

The
"com-
mercial"
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tions as ori-
ginally
proposed.

I.—Resolved—That it is the opinion of this committee, (committee of the *whole House*,) that it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible, and, for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled, and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II.—That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on the import into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on export to the other.

III.—That for the same purpose, it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on import of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

IV.—That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from such duty as the similar commodities, or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

V.—That for the same purpose, it is also proper, that in all cases where either kingdoms shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture when imported from the other, may be charged with a further import-duty to the same amount, as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material; and

shall be entitled to such drawbacks, or bounties upon export, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthens than the home-made manufacture; such further duty to continue so long as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom, shall be subjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back, or compensated on exportation.

VI.—That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on import of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, save such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

VII.—That for the same purpose, it is further necessary, that no prohibitions, or new and additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on export of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, to the other; except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty not equal in both. In every such case the prohibition may be reciprocal, or the duties raised, so as to make them equal.

VIII.—That for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatever be paid in either kingdom, on export of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensation for duties paid; and that no bounty be granted in this kingdom on export of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on export from thence; or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

IX.—That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the import of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the import of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

X.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting drawbacks, repayments, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce annually, over and above the sum of £————— should be appropriated

towards the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

Mr. Secretary Orde introduced these propositions with many praises of the liberality of England. "The moment," said he, (page 119 of the 4th vol. Irish Parliamentary Register,) "is, I trust, come, when she will make her victory over herself complete—when the reservation even of a just preference will be given up, and thereby every obstacle removed to the interchange of the commodities of the world.....The same principle which induces Great Britain to sacrifice a partial interest to the great object, a generous reciprocity, will influence your estimation and acknowledgment of her unequivocal liberality, &c., &c."

Secretary Orde's Speech introducing his propositions, 7th Feb. 1785.

He praised the second resolution, as enabling Ireland to "supply the British market, on the same terms as the British merchants could." Of the third, he said—"that it secured the English market for Irish goods, linens, tabbionets, poplins, &c." And he added, "at this day how large a portion of what Britain takes from Ireland is Irish produce! and how small a portion of what Ireland takes from Britain is produced there!" But the part of his speech most to be noticed, was that concerning the tenth resolution, viz.—"Great Britain will thus generously sacrifice her monopolies; she gives up the hope of being the emporium of trade, at a time when her burdens press upon her; and she groans under the weight of a debt incurred by the general defence of the empire. I hope we will meet her with a like liberality of spirit. If, in consequence of this adjustment, a great increase of revenue arise to Ireland, it will not be thought unreasonable to appropriate a part to the protection of the trade from which it arises; and by our contributing to the support of the naval force of the empire, Britain will still be enabled to afford protection."

Attempts at delusion.

The Right Hon. William Brownlow, M.P. for Armagh County, rose next, and denounced the tenth proposition, as tending to make Ireland a tributary nation. The whole

Manner in which the plan was received.

and was however received with something like favour by the House. The Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, (afterwards Lord Mountjoy, and who at that time held a prominent position in the political ranks, went so far as to express some grounds for the "liberal principles" that the English ministry seemed disposed to adopt. He made however a general objection, that these resolutions would go to meet our growing duties which he considered necessary to the manufacturers of Ireland, to balance England's advantages in her concentrated trade, large capitals, and extensive system. He also alluded to calling attention to the nature of our own as regarded mutual interchange of our internal and external supplies—linen yarn for instance, and wool for England, the latter being strictly confined almost entirely to England, while Irish linen was to go free into that country.

Mr. James O'Connell, of the Exchequer, afterwards, and until the Union, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and subsequently an official in the united parliament, and raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Oriel, gave a more answer to these objections, than that our linen manufacture was of the greatest importance to us; and would now be secure of the English market.

The matter was then adjourned to Friday, the 11th of February, on which day—

Petitions were presented against the propositions—one from the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, to much the same effect as Mr. Gardiner's objections—and a similar one from the woollen, silk, cotton, and mixed goods manufacturers of Dublin.

Mr. Flood and others complained of being hurried into consideration of the matter.

He complained that the people of Ireland had asked for protection; and the answer was the 4th proposition, which was to do away with all protection;—and insisted on the necessity of preserving our home-market.

With much debate, but no division, the propositions were

passed, until the 7th, when Mr. Gardiner moved that neither country should prohibit export of the raw material of its staple. He said "Irish woollen yarn was best for the *weft*—and English for the *warp*. Now the English get our yarn, of which they make their *weft*—but send none of theirs to us to make our *warp*—which surely was no reciprocity."

Grattan's attempt to secure real reciprocity.

The Committee divided—

Failure

For the amendment, ... 33

For the original resolution, 178

It was then proposed that the following should be the 10th resolution :—

That it is essential to the commercial interest of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expenses.

Change at the end of the resolutions, made with the concurrence of Grattan, who defends them.

And that the 11th should be,—“That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce over and above the sum of £656,000 in each year in peace, wherein the annual revenue shall equal the annual expense; and in each year of war, without regard to such equality; should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that in these he had the advice and assistance of Mr. Grattan.

It was objected, that the first of these made no provision for *reduction of expenditure*—but for increased taxation. And that the second was, in fact, a subsidy to England.

Mr. Grattan defended them on the grounds that “by making the surplus not applicable to the general expenditure till all expenses were paid, both British and Irish ministers would be interested in Irish economy, and the Irish parliament would have the control.” This latter provision decided, he said, “the great question of 1753.” (which was a controversy as to whether the Irish parlia-

Allusion to the “Surplus” question of 1753.

ment had, or had not, the power of disposing of surplus revenue, after clearing off the debt—an occurrence that took place in that year.)

Resolutions passed at an advanced hour in the morning, in Mr. Flood's absence.

The "propositions," or resolutions were then passed.

On Monday, February 14, Mr. Flood re-opened the subject, commencing by stating he had been obliged by illness to leave the House, at a comparatively early period of the previous discussion, and had gone with the impression that the promise of Mr. Foster to "ameliorate" the concluding resolution would have been otherwise carried out than it was.

He complains thereof, March 14, and accuses the Government of fraud. Ireland ought to have a navy of her own.

He accused Foster of seeking unfairly to create the "*casus*" of the 11th resolution, by not including in the deductions excepted in it, the corn-bounty, and the charges of management of the revenue. He contended that Ireland ought not thus to give away her money for ever to the navy of the empire, but, if need were, to create and support a navy of her own; and showed what a bad precedent she had, in the provision she had been called upon, since 1769, to make for the army of the empire, which had caused her debt ever since to accumulate. He said that a part of the hereditary revenue was already appropriated to a sea-guard—that a time when England herself was in every way retrenching, was no time for us, instead of reducing our heavy military establishment, to add to our expenses by this naval contribution, and to her debt also, as she could not borrow all she would want at home, but should do so in England, and so create *absentee debt*; the interest being, of course, paid and spent out of the country. He concluded by moving, "That an immediate and effectual retrenchment is necessary." An amendment to defer (and thereby, of course, defeat) his motion was then moved by Mr. Mason, (M.P. for the borough of St. Canice, or Irishtown, county Kilkenny.)

Ought not to be made to incur more debt, and an *absentee debt*; also moves amendment.

Division for the amendment, ... 131

For Mr. Flood's motion, ... 43

No sufficient answer appears to have been given—nor,

indeed, could be given, to Mr. Flood's eloquent and most cogent arguments. The arrangement then, as proposed in February, 1785, stands charged with the following injustices towards Ireland:—

General remarks on the whole scheme.

First, That by resolution 4 (and others), she was to deprive herself at once, and for ever, of all protection against the tremendous rivalry of the long-established manufactures of England, supported as they were by an immensely superior capital, and of course a system of long credits. And the concluding provision of this resolution opened the way for England to seize on the export trade of Ireland.

Its binding Ireland against any protection to her manufactures.

Second, That by resolution 6, England was to be enabled to supply herself at her own terms with our linen yarn, that is, the material of our staple manufacture,—while resolution 7, allowed the continuance of *her* prohibition of export to us of *her* wool, the material of *her* staple manufacture, and an article which we much desire to have.

Also perfect reciprocity, not established, England being favoured as to her wool.

Third, That we should (by resolution 9) pledge ourselves to give English goods a preference over foreign, no matter how much more advantageous to us to deal with the foreigner; England, to be sure, was to be similarly bound; but our staple manufacture, that of linen, had a powerful rival in the Scotch linen in her market, and we had nothing else of consequence which she would take.

Against profitable treaty with foreigners.

Fourth, That the resolution No. 10, (as last proposed and carried,) went to sanction the scarcely concealed purpose of the minister to increase our burthens, without any reference to the propriety of reducing our expenses.

To heavy increase of taxation, and to a tribute.

Fifth, That the final resolution, No. 11, violated all constitutional precedent, by pledging the country, without limitation of time, to pay a certain fixed amount of money to England, upon the occurrence of a contingency, the great likelihood of which was enhanced by the fraudulent working of the clause providing for it.

The proviso giving the Irish parliament control over the details of the disposition of the grant was a mockery, when they were to preclude themselves from meddling with its general application.

But these injustices did not appear to the parliament of England to be sufficient.

English
parlia-
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however
not satis-
fied even
with these
grievan-
ces to Ire-
land.
Pitt con-
tradicting
Orde.

Mr. Pitt, in submitting the resolutions to the British parliament for their adoption, (which he did on the 22nd February, 1785,) found it necessary to endeavour to remove from the minds of his hearers the impression which his deputy in Ireland (Mr. Orde) had laboured to make upon the Irish parliament; viz., that the contemplated arrangement was a pure benefit to Ireland, out of the liberality of England.

In the first place he sought to have it considered that Ireland had required this arrangement. "What has been done" (said he, alluding to the concessions of 1780-2) "was still viewed by the Irish people as insufficient, and clamours were excited, and suggestions published in Dublin and elsewhere, of putting duties on English produce and manufactures, under the name of protecting duties."

The real
design of
the
scheme
coming
out
through
the clum-
siness of
the
device.

This last branch of the sentence discloses at once and thoroughly the *real* reason why the proposed arrangement was brought forward by the British ministry. They could not show one petition to prove that Ireland wished for it. In fact and truth the secret of the matter was, the desire to prevent the Irish from giving their own manufactures some protection against the crushing rivalry of England.

Compelled by the somewhat indiscreet anxiety of the representatives of the manufacturing interests of England, to speak plainer than exactly consisted with the language of Mr. Orde in Ireland, he asked—

What was likely to be the extent of this boon to Ireland? Was it likely she would become the mart of the empire? He could not believe it ever would be the case. It was not probable that Ireland ever could furnish England with colonial produce in any great degree. As to the equalization of the duties on mutual intercourse, a country like Ireland, not capable of supplying herself, never could meet us in our markets. With the disadvantage of being loaded with heavy taxes at home, still our manufactures had always been able to triumph over the Irish in their own markets, paying the low duties there on import, and also the charges. Would Ireland's cheap labour enable her to undersell us? Manufac-

turers thought otherwise; there were great obstacles to the planting of any manufacture. It would require time for arts and capital, which could not increase without the demand; and in an established manufacture improvement was so rapid as to bid defiance to rivalry. In some of our manufactures too, there were natural and insurmountable obstacles to their competition. In the *woollens*, for instance, *by confining the raw material to this country*, the manufacture was confined also.

Mr. Fox made the following significant remarks on this occasion :

Fox's eloquent denunciation of the pretences put forward.

It had struck him as a singular instance of ingenuity, that in opening the outlines of the plan, the Right Honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had done away with a good deal of what had been said upon the subject in another speech, to another assembly. Indeed his (Mr. Pitt's) speech had been little else than an answer to that of Mr. Secretary Orde, in the Irish House of Commons. . . . It was curious to observe how differently the minister in Ireland, and the minister in England had recommended the same propositions to two different parliaments. In Ireland they had been stated as highly advantageous to that country—putting it on the footing of Great Britain, and rendering it an emporium of trade, and the source and supply of the British markets. In England and in that House they were told that the propositions were such as this country (England) might gladly accede to. Why? 'Because it gives Ireland nothing but what it had before—because Ireland cannot rival you—because Ireland is poor and feeble; and because Ireland must remain so, if not for ever, at least for a considerable length of time.'

It was agreed upon that time should be given for the presentation of petitions respecting these resolutions, hearing of counsel at the bar of the house on the subject, &c. &c.; in consequence of this, it was not till Thursday, 7th May, 1785, that the propositions were debated, with a view to definitive adoption.

Time for petitions, &c. allowed.

In moving them, Mr. Pitt took occasion to state as follows, the then position of Ireland :—

The propositions brought on again in the English parliament 7th May, 1785.

Ireland could, at this moment, trade with unlimited freedom to every foreign state in Europe, supply them with her own produce and manufacture, and carry home theirs in return. She was also at liberty to supply the British colonies in the West Indies, and, by a direct trade homeward, furnish herself with the West-India goods. But this was not all, she could also, at this mo-

Pitt exposes the then condition of Ireland.

She had free foreign trade and colonial trade, and could carry colonial goods direct to Great Britain.

ment, supply the British market by a direct trade to Britain, with the produce of the British Islands. Relative to West-India commodities, the only question now was, that the Irish should be permitted to bring into England, circuitously through Ireland, those goods which they were at present at full liberty to import into this country direct from the West Indies.

The opposition to this was from the West India planters, who feared that foreign sugars would be imported under cover of it.

Her exclusion from the East India.

Proposed boon in this respect.

Mr. Pitt said that Ireland "had no better right to complain of exclusion from the EAST INDIA trade, than any one of our outports. He would, however, allow her this, that 'the East India Company should be empowered to take in such part of their outward bound cargo *as they might find convenient*, in the ports of Ireland, and also to import directly from the East Indies into Ireland, whatever they might think proper.'"

He condemned the petitions against his plan, saying, that "the the greater part of them had been drawn up without due attention to the subject..... They seemed (the petitioners) not to know that the liberties and privileges to Ireland, of which they complained, and her rivalry in foreign markets, subsisted by the laws already in existence."

Pitt further shows how Ireland could not rival England.

He then went on to combat the doctrine "that Ireland, from the cheapness of labour, must necessarily undersell the English manufacturer..... It did not depend on that sort of work which was required for the most rough and rude occupations of agriculture, whether a nation was to flourish in manufacture or not..... The fears of the manufacturers were extremely far-fetched and ill-founded..... They had declared themselves to be afraid that the Irish should be able to draw over all their workmen, all their trade and capital, and undersell them in their own markets by at least 13 per cent. Now, he desired the committee to attend to that single subject. The Irish cotton trade was to enter England by this plan, at £10½ per cent. duty, and yet it was said they were to undersell the English cotton manufacturer by 13 per cent.! Besides this, England had hitherto imported into Ireland at a duty of £10½ per cent. These three sums together would make £34 per cent; therefore if these petitions deserved credit, they had, at that disadvantage, engrossed almost exclusively the Irish market, in which their dealings had increased and flourished to an extent hardly to be equalled by any other branch of trade known, a thing perfectly beyond the reach of belief..... In another branch there was the same exaggerated representation by Mr. Wedgewood, the earthenware manufacturer, who had given a

States the then Irish duty on cotton import from England, 10½ per cent, notwithstanding

very copious testimony at the bar, in the most collected and deliberate manner, and yet the House could learn nothing from him than his having wished to engross every market to which he had ever thought of sending his wares; and, by the by, he did not know well how to send them to Ireland for fear of damage by breakage and other losses. At all risks of credibility and consistency, he sought to find nothing in these propositions but ruin to his manufacture."

After ridiculing the idea of comparing a poor with a rich country, and showing that notwithstanding the great advantages predicted to Scotland from her union with England, *the latter had been "more benefitted by it,"* and that the result of that union "*had been such as not to make England averse to a repetition of the experiment;*" he proceeded to open

That part of the plan which was entirely and exclusively favourable to this country (England), and which was to be the gratuity given by Ireland for whatever benefit she was to derive, and the compensation to England for whatever advantage she might give up..... This compensation was the surplus of the Irish hereditary revenue, over and above £654,000 for her own uses. This would bear an exact proportion to the benefit she was to reap from the new arrangements; her hereditary revenue was by customs on almost every thing imported, by excise on the most general articles of consumption, and by a house-tax, levied on the number of hearths in each..... The committee would see, therefore, that this revenue would increase necessarily as soon as the new arrangement had effect, and in exact proportion to that effect, every article of which it was composed being so closely connected with commerce, wealth, and population. It was his idea that the supply should be taken in provisions and stores.

He concluded with submitting an "amended" and extended list of "propositions," increasing the number greatly, and materially altering and adding to the substance. Mr. Fox, speaking to the question a little later, remarked severely upon the high-handed manner in which the first list had been sought to be pressed upon the House, and praised for their perfection; whereas now, the minister had been forced practically to admit their great faultiness—that by them, as they first stood, England would have lost

which the Englishman beat the Irish cotton manufacturer.

Ridicules the jealousy and fears of the British manufacturers, especially as Ireland was a poor country.

Confesses that the union with

Scotland benefitted the latter less than England, who, therefore, would

"not be averse to repeat the experiment,"

(viz., with Ireland.)

The "TRIBUTE" said by him to be a fair purchase by Ireland of a benefit.

Increase of the number of the propositions and their stringency.

Fox asks the justification of

so great a change, if the first plan were all it had been pretended,

and shews his own jealousy of Ireland.

the monopoly of the East India trade, hazarded the revenue arising from spirituous liquors—no distinction having been made between native and foreign spirits—nor any protection provided against the latter. That they would have sacrificed the navigation laws, and thereby given up “the great source of commercial opulence, the prime origin of our maritime strength,” in trust to Ireland, leaving English interests totally dependent on her policy and her bounty. That a door would be opened to most extensive smuggling—no bonds, cockets, &c. &c., being required. And that Ireland having the power of giving bounties, or allowing drawbacks on goods exported to the colonies, might beat England in the colonial market, while she could also injure the colonies, by letting in foreign colonial goods cheap.

Inadvertent confession of hardship to Ireland.

He continued thus :—

I need not state to the committee a fact so universally known, as that the *produce of our colonies is dearer than that of the foreign islands*. Nevertheless, we have given them the home-market, on account of the natural interest we have in them, and we must continue to do so. But Ireland has no such obligation ; *on the contrary, her interest would as forcibly lead her to the foreign colonies*.

He supports the new propositions because of their stringency.

Aware of this fact with regard to Ireland, and in order to prevent her from thus consulting her own interest, Mr. Fox supported the new form of the “propositions.”

Mr. Pitt succeeded in carrying his resolutions, and sending them to the Lords. After some amendments there, and subsequent amendments, unnecessary to be detailed, in the Commons on return, both houses finally agreed to, and passed them in the following shape :—

The propositions as they finally passed in England.

I.—That it is highly important to the interests of both countries, that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II.—That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying, in proportion to



its growing prosperity, the necessary expenses in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

III.—That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable, when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. But, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards.

IV.—That; it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made, in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, (such laws imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms,) should be in force in Ireland, by laws to be passed by the parliament of that kingdom, for the same time, and in the same manner, as in Great Britain.

V.—That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties and regulations, as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain; or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

VI.—That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient, that

all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall be hereafter imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII.—That for the like purpose it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies, as shall be required by the law, on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity, included in one certificate, shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly endorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original document, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII.—That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or imposition than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX.—That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, that so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable, that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should be importable into Ireland from any foreign country, or from any settlement in the East Indies belonging to any such foreign country; and that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it shall be lawful to export such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same du-

ties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom; but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained, and the net drawback on the said goods imported to Ireland; and the amount thereof shall be remitted by the receiver-general of his Majesty's customs in Great Britain to the proper officers of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his Majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company, in the goods of the produce of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, the goods should be importable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable into Great Britain, and no other; and that no vessel should be cleared out from Ireland, for any part of the countries from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, but such as shall be freighted in Ireland by the said exclusive company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

X.—That no prohibition should exist in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish parliaments, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods, or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or other particular circumstances; or prescribe the build or country, and dimensions of the ship importing the same; and also, except on arms, ammunition, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his Majesty's license; and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, or in consequence of internal bounties in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, flour, malt, and biscuits.

XI.—That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they

be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to an amount not exceeding the amount payable in the other; so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per cent. where any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland; of ten and a half per cent. or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May, 1782; and that all such articles should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

XII.—That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the said manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall be imposed; and that, where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom greater than the like duty on raw materials in the other, such manufacture may, on its importation into the other kingdom, be charged with such a countervailing duty, as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to burdens adequate to those which the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

XIII.—That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance the duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, or in consequence of bounties remaining on such articles when exported from the other kingdom.

XIV.—That for the same purpose it is necessary further, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, shall be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from one kingdom to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour; and biscuits.

XV.—That for the same purpose it is necessary that no

bounties whatever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, flour, and biscuits. And except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid. And that no bounty should be payable on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain; and where any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.

XVI.—That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British Empire, that the importation of articles from foreign countries should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may effectually favor the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except in the cases of materials of manufactures, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free; and that in all cases, where any articles are, or may be, subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the States of North America, than the like goods are or may be subject to when imported as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the States of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.

XVII.—That it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coast of any part of the British dominions.

XVIII.—That it is expedient that such privileges of printing and vending books, as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the Crown or otherwise, and the copyrights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just

that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copyright of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

XIX.—That it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted, for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted and contained, shall be of equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

XX.—That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of £656,000 in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expenses of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

Mr. Pitt moved an address to the Throne, relative to these resolutions.

Lord
Beau-
champ op-
poses the
proposi-
tions.

Lord Beauchamp opposed, on the ground of the hurry and insufficiency of the plan. He denied that Ireland was impatient for it:—

Shows
how fair
the con-
duct of
Ireland
had been,

It might crush the infant manufactory of Ireland in the first instance, and ultimately injure those of Great Britain..... The vindication of it, on the allegation that the Irish parliament was determined to lay on protecting duties, was not well grounded.....In none of four instances produced was their hostility.....Beer was raised because the Irish inland excise on it was raised. The duty on wire was pointed against Dutch wire, not British, and was only to last a year.....As to muslins and calicoes, there was only the application of an old law of Charles II.; and the increase of duty on sugar arose from the different principles on which the drawback of our last duty was calculated, of which the Irish parliament made the application, and fixed their port-duty accordingly.....In the case of woollens, the Irish parliament had recently disclaimed the principle; and indeed the whole history of their rates is a proof that they have carried their commercial preference for Great Britain to as great a length as one country can expect from another.....No reciprocity in these arrangements. British prohibitions on wool and

fuller's earth perpetuated, while Irish bay yarn, linen yarn, and raw hides secured to the British market for ever. In beer and spirits bounties are reserved, to give a decided superiority against Ireland. He further observed, that the 11th and 12th propositions would also militate against her, and that the coast regulations of "bonds" and "cockets" would embarrass and tend to restrict that trade, which the Irish parliament desired to extend. That the 7th inconvenienced Ireland only, and as to the linen trade, the plan gave "no new security." England's previous policy was founded on the wisest views of the subject for her own interest. By suffering Irish linens to come in free, she secured the best materials for her own printing trade; and by granting a bounty on their export, she insured to the London factors the commission and other advantages of sending them to every part of the world.

and the unfair character of these arrangements to her.

England's encouragement to Irish linen had been, in fact, a benefit to herself.

Mr. Eden professing to speak "as one of the agents for the British manufacturers, and for the landed interests, and stock-holders of England," thus described the general nature of the plan :—

Mr. Eden states the nature of the whole plan.

Great Britain was to give : First, the carriage from Ireland to this kingdom, of colonial produce, after landing in Ireland. Second, an access to the British markets. Third, a national compact not to raise the duties on Irish linens.

It must be clear to the reader, that the first of these *boons* to Ireland was a mockery. England having, of course, the power to import direct from her colonies, would not of course, prefer to pay an increased price on their commodities coming through Ireland.

As to the second *boon*, Ireland was to compensate for it, by thoroughly opening her market to England, then and for ever.

That the third was but the continuance of a matter of advantage to England herself, we have seen confessed in Lord Beauchamp's words already quoted.

So much for the "boons to Ireland." In return England, according to Mr. Eden, was to obtain :—

1.—A control and superintending power of legislation in matters of trade and commerce.

2.—Acquiescence of Ireland in the perpetual duration of the East and West Indian monopolies.

3.—A confirmation in British prohibitions of exports, without the power of making them reciprocal. To which, (added Mr. Eden, with astonishing candour,) perhaps I ought to add, *the contribution in proportion to the increasing opulence of Ireland.*

Fox declares its injustice to Ireland.

We shall take leave of the English discussion, with the opinion of Mr. Fox, expressed in the same debate, that by this plan, "*Ireland would lose her constitution, and again become a dependent, subordinate kingdom.*"

The English Lords and Commons having agreed to the propositions in the middle of July, they were submitted to the Irish parliament in their altered shape, upon the 12th of August.

The resolutions being increased, are vigorously opposed by Flood, Grattan, &c. &c.

Mr. Flood sought to anticipate them, upon the 2d of August, by a resolution—"That we will maintain in full and undiminished force, the legislative supremacy of the parliament of Ireland, to legislate for Ireland in all cases, internally, commercially, and externally."

Mr. Grattan and he condemned in most forcible terms the English resolutions; and said they thought no man would have ventured to think of bringing such resolutions before the Irish parliament.

Mr. Flood's motion was evaded by the minister (Mr. Orde) on a point of form; but was again brought forward by him, in nearly the same words, on the 11th of August, to which day the house had adjourned.

After some further strong condemnation of the English resolutions by him and Mr. Grattan, it was agreed that the motion should be adjourned, until Mr. Orde should have the opportunity which he contemplated having the succeeding day, of endeavouring to shew the house that he did not wish to compromise the legislative independence of Ireland.

He accordingly made this attempt the next day; but the pretexts he put forward for the purpose were too shallow to deceive for a moment, and such as it were a waste of time to record.

Mr. Grattan eloquently and indignantly denounced the

attempt, and went into details to shew the various injustices of the whole scheme.

The proof must be so evident to the candid reader, on the face of the propositions themselves, and indeed in the remarks we have before given, of Mr. Eden, the advocate in the English parliament of the English interests, which considered themselves imperilled even by the shadow of benefit to Ireland, that it is unnecessary to go into them.

One sentence of Mr. Grattan's so well expresses the whole history of our commercial relations with Great Britain, that we quote it, although limited to space :

Whence the restrictions on Irish trade and commerce? Whence the old misconstruction of the act of navigation? Whence, but from the evil of suffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of instituting, under the idea of general protectress, a proud domination; which sacrifices the interests of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little passions of the monopolist with the sovereign potency of an imperial parliament. For great nations, when carried still unconsciously away, follow but their nature when they invade; and human wisdom has not better provided for human safety than by limiting the principles of human power.

Grattan on the commercial relations of the three countries.

A sentence that dropped from a supporter of Mr. Orde, Mr. Mason, M. P. for St. Canice, deserves also to be recorded, for obvious reasons :

The house should recollect they were not going to form an artificial contract, like the treaty of union between England and Scotland; for the moment the act of union passed, the parliament of Scotland was annihilated, or rather merged in that of Great Britain; and if the articles of union had proved really oppressive to the people of Scotland, they were left without resource, except what they should find in the moderation of the British parliament, (!) or the hazards of a civil war!

Allusion to a Union.

Having given these, some extracts from the admirable speech of Flood cannot be omitted.

I do not wonder at all that this system should end in an open attack upon the rights of Ireland in commerce and constitution because in its origin it appeared to me to be a covered attack on both.

Flood's final denunciation of the

"propositions."

The King's speech declared that this system was only to adjust matters not before adjusted—yet the very second of the original ten propositions, in contradiction to this, went only to objects that had been before adjusted in 1780 and 1782—namely, foreign trade and British colonial trade.

As to foreign trade, one word despatches that, viz.—the word Independence. Independent Ireland has every right of foreign trade that Britain herself possesses. For this, therefore, she had no compact to make with Britain. This had been adjusted in 1782. British colony trade was adjusted in 1780. The British parliament then declared, that the unshaken loyalty of Ireland entitled her to participate in every advantage of British colony trade. The British act of parliament in pursuance of this resolve, authorised Ireland to trade to the British colonies with like advantages as Britain herself. In equity, and good faith, what can we have to ask that these did not give? Or can Britain, without impeaching her own candour, now say that she then withheld anything? She then boasted the liberality of that transaction.

As to Ireland's not having paid for the transaction of 1780, I say the argument would be a sordid one, were it founded on fact—which it is not. The sentiment of the British parliament in 1780, was a wiser and more statesmanlike conception. It was, that the unshaken loyalty of Ireland entitled her to those advantages; and surely that is a price above all prices. But Ireland paid for it in two ways beside; and in each of them more than the value of the object. Firstly, she gave to the British colonies, a monopoly of her consumption in those articles in which she then obtained that free trade. Now I say universally, that any nation pays too dear for one market, when she gives up all other markets for one. And particularly, that the nation pays too dearly for the sugar market of the British colonies, who gives up all other sugar markets for the British, which is neither the best nor the cheapest. Secondly, I add, that Ireland paid in taxes for the direct trade more than it was worth; and I prove it thus:—£10 per cent. is a good profit in general on trade, and no trade can afford to pay the whole, nor the greater part of its clear profit in tax. To apply this:—we paid for that direct trade an estimated sum of tax to the amount of above £100,000 per annum. Now this would be the whole clear profit, at £10 per cent. of £2,000,000 worth of trade. Could the whole clear profit be afforded in tax; or can the whole increase of traffic, by the direct trade, amount in any series of years to anything like the enormous sum of Two Millions? Most certainly not.

The boldest stroke was, in the very moment Ire-

land was soliciting higher duties on import, in order to give protection to her manufactures, to compel her to propose in the 4th of the original ten resolutions, that she should never have such protecting resolutions. The 4th does this by requiring that the lowest existing duties should, viz.—the Irish, shall, hereafter, be the port-duties for both kingdoms. Now experience proved these too low to protect Ireland, and therefore she had prayed to have them raised, but the 4th proposition made her negative her own application. Notwithstanding this a fear began to be entertained in England, that by some possibility these low duties might suffer some Irish manufacture to escape into the British market. Therefore an expedient was adopted, at the latter end of the 3rd proposition, by which Britain should have higher protecting duties, without appearing to mean it. This was by *“countervailing duties,”* that is to say, that the port-duties, though too low for the protection of Ireland, should be equal; but that the country that had the highest internal duties on consumption, might add to the port-duty a countervailing duty, in proportion to its internal imposts, whereby the before equal duties would become unequal. Now we have only to ask, which of these kingdoms now has, and which of them, as richer, must always be able to have, the highest internal duties on consumption?—Undoubtedly Britain. What follows? That Ireland was made in the countervailing principle to propose, that Britain should have higher duties against Irish imports, than Ireland against British imports. Certainly the weaker country required more protection than the stronger, though she would be content with a protection equal to what Britain had long enjoyed, and by the long enjoyment of which Britain had gained such advantageous ground as Ireland could never recover, nor Britain ever lose.

The Attorney-General, Right Hon. John Scott, argued that these resolutions would confirm to Ireland the benefits she now held only at England's pleasure, under the 20th Geo. III., chap. 10. (passed in 1780, and known by the title of the Act of Free Trade.)

Mr. Ogilvie, M. P. for Ballyshannon, said that this was not correct, but had been advanced by the Attorney-General, because he knew “that the bill now introduced by the British minister, clashed with the act of 1780, and could not be passed while the latter continued in force, and that he had, of consequence, seen the necessity of representing this act as a favour granted by Great Britain, held at her discretion, and revocable at her pleasure. He (Mr. Ogilvie) positively denied that it

Last fallacy, as to these propositions being of benefit to Ireland, upset.

was so revocable, for in it there was enacted "that the importation and exportation allowed by this act, shall have continuance as long, and in such respective cases, only, as the goods, or any of them, &c., shall be liable by some act, or acts of parliament, to be made in the kingdom of Ireland, to equal duties and drawbacks, and shall be made subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, as the like goods, &c. exported from, and imported into Great Britain, from the British colonies in the West Indies, America, and Africa. Thus it was for Ireland to terminate the act, by not performing the conditions annexed to the grant of its advantages. He was ready, however, to consult with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Foster,) that the principle of the present bill was the same as that of the 80th Geo. III. chap. 10. But that act expressly provided against the extending of the principle to the trade enjoyed by Ireland previously, but only to the import and export which were given by itself. This was the Magna Charta of Irish trade, but was not to be destroyed.

As to trade with foreign colonies, Ireland was not restricted by the act of 1780, but he agreed, that upon an equal and fair construction of the navigation laws, as adopted by Yelverton's act, Ireland was restrained from intercourse with foreign colonies; but then gentlemen must admit, that this construction put Ireland on an equal footing with Great Britain, and opened British ports to Irish ships, as it did Irish ports to British ships. If this was denied, the Irish nation was not restrained from trading with foreign colonies; if it were admitted, she had a right to the intercourse which was made the pretence for the present settlement, and was considered as one branch of the price that she was to receive for the numerous disadvantages she was to submit to in return.

The debate ended with a majority for the government—the numbers being—

Ayes,	...	...	...	127
Noes,	...	...	...	108

Majority for the Resolutions, ... 191—8

Propositions though carried, yet abandoned by government.

This majority, however, was considered too small, especially taking into account the personal importance of those who composed the minority, to justify further progress with the measure, and so it was dropped; the minister making his retreat with a motion on the 15th of August,

to read a first time, print, and then leave before the country, the bill founded on the resolutions thus passed.

A most animated debate occurred on that occasion; Mr. Grattan, Mr. Flood, Mr. Curran, and other bright names of Irish history, expressing eloquently their joy at the result, and their hope that this would be the last attack on the constitution of Ireland. The ministerial speakers gave way to much ill temper; and used the most unworthy language in reference to the capabilities of their country.

Mr. Flood well remarked at the end of the discussion, that "he had never heard more mischievous, or more inflammatory language, nor more saucy folly." The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Rooster) resented the expression, and moved that it should be taken down.

Whereupon Mr. Flood said, "Let my words be taken down. I do not retract my expression; I am ready to maintain and defend it." And his words were not taken down. The government knew too well that he spoke what would be the feeling of the country, when the debate should come before them.

It is unnecessary to make more extended comment on the whole transaction, than to say:

1.—That we have found it confessed, that these propositions originated in the fear of Ireland protecting her manufactures, in return for the high duties on her imports in England.

2.—That they went to fetter Ireland in her foreign and colonial trade; and to make England's commercial legislation virtually control us. Also, to raise our taxation, and to pledge this country irrevocably, and most unconstitutionally, to a tribute.

3.—To appease the English manufacturers, (whose jealousy was pronounced by the English minister himself, to be ignorant, unreasoning, and excessive; as well he might so designate it, when the propositions went to fetter Ireland in their favor,) the scheme was advocated in England as a gain to her, while the Irish parliament were assured that it was a gain to Ireland.

ment, with indecent shew of vexation and disappointment.

General remarks.

4.—Ireland was promised free access to the British market, which she would have got in name, but not in reality; as the internal taxes of England were to justify heavy "countervailing" or balancing duties on Irish goods entering her ports—while Ireland was to continue for ever her then low duties on British imports; notwithstanding, that the English manufacturer was able, after paying them, to undersell the Irishman at home.

In short, the propositions, whether in their original or final state, went to counteract the commercial freedom and legislative independence, which England had been compelled to concede to Ireland a few years before.

Their defeat was, consequently, a triumph for Ireland, but, owing to the unreformed state of her legislature, a FATAL triumph. Failing to obtain her ends by treaty, England resolved upon the Union, in order thereby to regain, and extend her old domination. Parliamentary corruption unfortunately gave her the means; and by that, and the demoniacal expedient of fomenting a rebellion to distract the country, and give excuse for military violence, she reversed our triumph only fifteen years later; and destroyed our commerce, our manufactures, our legislative independence, and our national prosperity.

Obstructions to prosperity of Ireland.

Yet it made progress.

Besides the points already mentioned, in which circumstances still existed, after the arrangements of 1798, unfavourable to the full developement of the resources of Ireland, her advance towards prosperity was a good deal impeded by the heavy public expenses to which the policy of the government continually subjected her; yet she progressed with what, considering every thing, was an extraordinary rapidity, and in a manner that fully justified the expression of Lord Chancellor Clare, in 1798, when reviewing the occurrences of the previous sixteen years. "There is not," said he, "a nation on the face of the habitable globe, which has advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufactures, with such rapidity, within the same period, as Ireland." The present Lord Grey

recorded his opinion to the same effect, in 1799, as did also Lord Plunket and others. As we have touched upon this subject, we will add here one or two remaining testimonies to the prosperity of Ireland under her own parliament. On the 18th December, 1798, the bankers of Dublin had a meeting, in which they passed these resolutions:—"Resolved, that since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in 1782, to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased." "Resolved, that we attribute these blessings, under providence, to the wisdom of the Irish parliament." The Guild of Merchants, resolved as follows, (on 14th January, 1799,)—"That the commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures have improved, beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertions of our countrymen in 1782."

When under all the disadvantages of the remaining restrictions and inequalities in her commercial relations with England—of the profligate expenditure of a corrupt and hostile government, unchecked, because her parliament was unreformed—and of the terrible and wasting wars which marked the latter years of the period 1782–1800, Ireland still so wonderfully prospered—what may not be expected from her, when her reformed and freely-elected parliament shall be legislating for her interests with the lights and experiences of the present day, and a perfect and ever present sense of their speedy accountability to the intelligent and high-minded constituent body; when thus a potent check and control can be constitutionally had over the executive—when English influence over our legislation shall be attainable only by evidences on her part of a real disposition to conciliate and be friends—and when disputes with foreign countries will be rendered most unlikely, first, by the pacific and *honest* policy which the people of Ireland will dictate to their representatives; and, second, by the respect which a country of such immense and developing resources, and such vast growing strength, will impress upon other nations.

After Repeal those obstructions would not exist.

Occurrences between 1785 and the Union.

Ireland seeks to get free trade to the East.

Mr. Ponsonby's motions on this subject.

The commercial events from 1785 to the Union need not delay us long. Neither the English nor the East India markets had been open to us, by the "Free Trade" Act of 1780. The latter remained altogether shut, notwithstanding the renunciation by England of her claim to hold us bound by her laws. Mr. Corry, member for Newry, essayed to draw the attention of the Irish Commons to this in 1783-4, but the matter was evaded on the part of government by their assurances, that in the new commercial system, the plan of which was in preparation, (viz. that brought forward in the "propositions" of 1785,) there would be found a satisfactory arrangement with regard to the India trade. The reader has seen how futile were these assurances.

In 1791, and again in 1792, Mr. George Ponsonby, M.P. for the borough of Innisfree, brought the subject forward again. The arguments having been similar, a notice of them on the latter occasion will suffice. Mr. Ponsonby and his supporters considered the time to be most appropriate, inasmuch as the East India Company were about to apply for a renewal of their charter. He said that while the British possessions in the East, he did not want to meddle, but that England had no right to exclude Ireland from trade with China and Japan. He estimated that Great Britain paid to England for Eastern goods about half a million annually—an amount much swelled by the charges on re-exportation, which would of course be done away with if Ireland imported direct into her own ports. He answered, that if we meddled with this trade, we would raise the hostility of England against us—that we would injure her without benefitting ourselves—that we had not money for the trade—that our capital was too small for the existing investments at home, and that if we could even increase it, it would be far better to employ it at home; and finally, that the system of taking those goods from England, if a sacrifice by us, was a "tribute of affection, a mark of 'gratitude and friendship, due to England from

us, on account of the concessions she had made, and the advantages she gave our citizens in her market.

These fallacies were ably refuted by Curran (then member for Rathfriland) and Grattan.—(*See the Irish Debates, vol. 12, p. p. 110-111.*)

Speeches
of Grat-
tan and
Curran.

Mr. Curran adverted to the distinction that had been made, that this was not giving up a right, but making a voluntary concession of the exercise of that right; this, he said, "was not merely submitting to subjugation, but coming forward to demand the chain with the meanness and servility of a Capadocian." Other gentlemen had said, "don't engage the country in a trade that has ruined all that have ever ventured in it," as if gentlemen thought that the motion went to engage them to create commissioners to send the bread of the country to India to be eaten. No act of parliament can prescribe the channels in which commerce shall flow—it was the object of the motion only to leave the field of commerce open to the merchant, and let him avail himself of advantages as he can. The smallness of our capital had been urged against the motion;—that objection he said amounted to this—"You have but little money; therefore buy at London for £200, what you can import directly into Dublin for £50."—He desired the House to consider whether, as men of common faith and common probity, they could refuse to their fellow-subjects the exercise of this right, which all acknowledged them to possess;—for his part, he thought not; and by the determination of the House on this question, their character would stand or fall, if Ireland was not a barbarous nation. [On those who would hold out the threat of hostile retaliation, if the House should agree to this motion, he was particularly severe.] He protested that his blood run cold when he conceived, even for a moment, this country in such circumstances, that she dreaded hostility from a sister kingdom for asserting and exercising what was acknowledged her undoubted right. Really, the question was not at all between Britain and Ireland; but between the people of Ireland together with the unchartered people of England, and a small number of chartered monopolists. The present he conceived to be a question of general liberty, and as a friend to the liberties of the people of England and Ireland, he should vote for it.

Mr. Grattan followed Mr. Curran, and supported the motion: he said that "the House of Commons of Ireland were not justified in having no power to reject the principle of a bill, which, like the present, was to confer a benefit to the people of Ireland—to liberate the commerce and constitution of the kingdom, which, from what had been advanced by gentlemen, appeared

to hang and depend from the constitution and commerce of Britain. Parliament had, he granted, a right to modify and regulate trade, but they had none to destroy it, as they did the India commerce."

The obligation of this country to Great Britain was little; he mentioned her modification of the Channel trade, and his interpretation of the navigation act, as instances of unfair conduct on the part of Britain. "As to the profits of this or any other trade, parliament had no right to take them into consideration: to leave the trade open was their duty, that of the merchant to consider of its profits. The want of capital was a frivolous objection, for if the bill passed, there would be imported capital; he knew that there was a very large foreign capital ready to be embarked to-morrow in the trade, if it were opened; and he called to the recollection of gentlemen, that the principal arguments ministers had used in favour of the propositions was, that foreign capital would be immediately imported, if these propositions passed."

Motion
defeated.

Corruption had already begun to blast the once vigorous shoot of Irish parliamentary independence, and so these and other arguments were unavailing, and ministers defeated the motion on a division of 156 to 70.

Illusory
modification
of it
prepared
in 1793,
by go-
vernment,
in order
to get the
Irish par-
liament to
renew the
East India
Compa-
ny's Char-
ter.

Still to have asked the Irish parliament for their consent to a renewal of the India Company's Charter, would have been too gross even for the government of the day; and so, when in 1793 it was necessary to procure this renewal, a modification of the restrictions on Irish commerce to the East, was offered by Mr. Secretary Hobart, by a bill which he introduced in the month of June of that year, enacting that an Indiaman of 800 tons should be sent to Cork, or some other Irish port, annually, to take on board Irish exports to that amount for the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and to do so at the reduced rate of freightage of £5 per ton.

The boon was illusory. In the first place, the Irish merchant should give previous notice of the quantity and quality of the goods he purposed to have ready for the ship; and such notice reaching the London merchants, prior to her sailing for Ireland, they had it of course in their power to forestall the Irishman in the vessels that

went direct from London. In the second place, he could not get returns from the East directly back to his own ports: but should receive them through London, grievously surcharged of course, in consequence of their circuitous, slow, and (owing to the difficulties of the Channel navigation) perilous voyage.

But it was enough for the minister and the venal herd who supported him, that there was even the appearance of a concession; and on the strength of that appearance, vague and shadowy as it was, he forced the measure upon the country, and obtained the renewal of the East India Charter.

And carried.

In the debates on the subject, the abstract right of Ireland to trade to the East was not contested; but the old fallacy of its not being a trade likely to be of any benefit to her, was again brought forward and insisted upon. It was urged too, as before, that her consenting to abandon it would be only a proper proof of gratitude to England, not only for the concessions of 1779-80, but for an act just then passed in the British parliament, giving, as it was said, "the full construction of the navigation act" to Ireland, by allowing her to re-export to England, such goods of Asia, Africa, and America, as she did not want for her own consumption. This matter had been mooted by Mr. Grattan in 1787, but then rejected; as ministers then had not an India bill to carry.

Notices of the debates on the subject.

In fact Ireland had purchased this privilege long before; and at a price far outweighing the very limited advantages which it could give her. In 1785, she had at the beginning of the session, granted £140,000 in new taxes, on expectation of this, and other concessions, which she was to get from the settlement of the "commercial propositions" of that year. And ever since the year 1763, she had maintained 3,000 men for the defence of the West Indies; although until 1780 denied trade with them, and not being entirely freed from restriction in that respect, until the year 1793 itself. Again, she had in 1780 consented to adopt

Unrequited concessions of Ireland.

the enormous English duty on import of raw sugars, and to exclude foreign—a tremendous sacrifice for so poor a country, in regard of such an important necessary. And finally, she had at the same time, while restricted as to the advantages, adopted all the penalties of the navigation act, in particular that which restricted her from providing her trade with foreign shipping; which for a time would have been her best and most economical policy.

Grattan's last attempt to procure a fair commercial arrangement.

We have little to delay us now from the consideration of the arrangements in commercial matters at the time of the Union. Any minor regulations from 1785 to 1800 concerning them, whether adopted by England to bolster up her monopolies, or by Ireland to modify her infant manufactures, the effect of their nearly total exclusion from English ports, will be found sufficiently noted in the debates of that period. We therefore here make no further delay than to mention, that on the 20th February, 1794, Mr. Grattan made a last and unsuccessful effort, to induce the parliament to demand admission for Irish manufactures into England, on terms as favourable as English commodities were allowed on entry into Ireland. He was ably supported by Mr. Duquerry, colleague of Curran in the representation of the borough of Rathcormack, who recapitulated the commercial injustices of England, and the concessions of Ireland, and alluded to some of the details of disparity of duties between the two countries—woollen cloths, or “old drapery,” being charged with £2 0s. 6d. in English ports, and only 50d. per yard in Irish. Woollen stuffs, and mixed goods, or “new drapery,” (as they were styled,) being 6s. per yard on import into England, and only 1d. here. Irish cotton goods being shut out by a duty of 30 per cent., while we took English at only 10 per cent.; and finally, all but our plain linens being charged with 65 per cent. by her, while the duty in our ports was no more than in the case of cottons.*

* A Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council in England, in 1785, states that all woollens, stuffs made, or mixed with wool, cottons of all

Mr. Grattan was obliged to content himself with the old hollow plausibilities, and indeed proved and insulting fallacies respecting English generosity, past and future, put forward by Mr. Secretary Douglas and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the motion was withdrawn.

Attempt
baffled.

On the fatal 22nd of January, 1799, the Lord Lieutenant's speech broached the subject of the Union. On this occasion, Mr. George Ponsonby moved an amendment to the address in answer, to the effect that Ireland would maintain her parliament. The amendment being lost by a majority of one, (the numbers being 105 and 106,) and a division, two days afterwards, on the same subject, having taken place against the friends of Ireland, the Union measure itself was shortly after introduced by Lord Castlereagh, but that session rejected, to the great joy of the nation. It was a short-lived joy—the recess was spent by ministers in corrupting the parliament; many were got to promise to reverse their patriotic votes of the past sessions; others to resign to make room for nominees and tools of the minister; and in consequence an anti-union amendment proposed by Sir Laurence Parsons, to the address, on the opening of the session, January 15th, 1800, was lost by a majority of 42, (in a House of 234 members,) although many of the government nominees had not taken their seats.

The
"Union"
broached
in 1799.

The commercial arrangements of the Union, as finally settled in that year, were as follows:—

Article 6.—That it be the sixth article of Union, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, shall, from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, be entitled to the same privileges, and be, on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively and generally, in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign

kinds, linen printed, leather manufactures, candles, soap, and refined sugar, were prohibited in English ports; while in Irish they paid but a trifling duty. Also cheese, gold and silver twist and lace, laces, all kinds of silks, ribbons, gauzes, velvets, gloves, glass, earthenware, &c.

power, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

That from the 1st day of January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and determine, and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein after enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule to said act annexed, or such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the United Kingdom, in the manner herein-after provided; and that for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in another schedule thereunto annexed, shall be subject, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule; and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of old and new drapery, shall pay on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, 1808; and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January, 1816, until the fifth day of January, 1821; and that cotton-yarn and cotton-twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, 1808; and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, 1816.

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of

either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials, and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedules shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased in the manner herein specified; and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties, as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty, on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same, and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed, on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively, from the same country to the other.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawback, or the amount (if any be retained) shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit, but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the said articles may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

The Speaker of the Irish Commons, the Right Honorable John Foster, (afterwards Lord Oriel,) was the chief ^{The union}

commer-
cial ar-
range-
ments.

among several able opponents of these regulations. In 1799 and in 1800 he made powerful speeches in opposition, and went largely into the subject of the commercial relations of the two countries, and exposed their past and future inequalities and injustices towards Irish interests. His objections to the 6th Article of Union were briefly as follows :—

Foster's
denuncia-
tion of
them.

That they lowered all protecting duties that were above 10 per cent., to that amount; and thus exposed the infant manufactures of Ireland (which the Irish parliament had in latter years began to protect) to the overwhelming competition of the great capital and long established skill and ability of England. That no less than seventy articles of our manufacture would thus be injured; and our cotton manufactures in particular, in which we had begun to make most promising advances, would be nearly ruined. That no preference over foreign goods in the British market was given. That the "new and excessive" duties on salt were made perpetual, those on hops and coals unalterable; that our brewery was left unprotected, &c. &c.

He added, that what little protection remained in any particular, was herein provided to cease and determine after the lapse of a specified number of years.

The com-
mercial
position
of Ireland
at that
time.

To rightly understand the effect of these arrangements, it is necessary to review, very briefly, the leading circumstances of Ireland's commercial position.

She had, by the acts of 1779-80, obtained the freedom of foreign and colonial trade, both of export and of import.

By the act of 1793 she had obtained liberty to re-export foreign and colonial goods from her own shores to England.

She had, by an English act of the same year, got the loudly vaunted, but utterly illusory privilege of having an eight-hundred-ton East Indiaman to make up a cargo for the East, in her ports.

But she had not free trade to the East, nor had she admission to English ports for her own goods.

This latter she had been, and was very desirous of obtaining. In the hope that England would have made the concession, the Irish parliament, for some years after 1780, refused the solicitations of their own merchants, to retaliate on her, by raising the Irish import duties. So eager were they to obtain it, that they jumped at the propositions of 1785, and, notwithstanding the violations of justice and the constitution which those propositions involved, had nearly adopted them, when Flood, aided speedily and powerfully by Grattan, woke up the public mind against them, and caused their abandonment.

It was not till after a fair experiment and delay that the Irish parliament, despairing of getting England to terms by fair means, commenced retaliation. To this we have the incontestable testimony of the Commissioners of Revenue Enquiry in 1822—an authority by no means disposed to be over-favorable to Irish interests, or over-anxious for the credit of the Irish parliament. In their Fourth Report, speaking of the system of restrictions on English goods, and bounties on their own, to which that parliament had had recourse; they say,

She had not restricted English commerce with her till driven to do so.

Ireland was, undoubtedly, instigated to the adoption of this course by the exclusive spirit of the commercial policy of England. It will be found, that few exceptions in favor of the sister-kingdom were inserted in the list of goods absolutely prohibited to be imported into this country (*England*), in which list, all goods made of cotton-wool, every description of manufactured woollen, silk, and leather, together with cattle, sheep, malt, stuffs, and other less important articles, were at one time comprehended. In this embarrassing situation of exclusion from the markets of Great Britain, and deriving little assistance from foreign trade, Ireland had no other course to pursue for the protection of her own industry, except that of maintaining, by restrictive duties on the importation from Great Britain, the manufacturing means she possessed for the supply of her own markets.

English acknowledge-ment of this.

What the Irish parliament wanted was of course, not an absolute *free-trade* with England, which they knew well would cause the ruin of their struggling, though growing

manufactures, but some such arrangement as the following, suggested in the year 1780, by no less an authority than the English Board of Trade itself:

The best plan is, that the two kingdoms lay on certain moderate duties, to be imposed on the manufactures of the other, such as will secure a due preference in the home-market to like articles of its own growth and manufacture; and yet leave to the sister kingdom, advantages though not equal to its own, yet superior to those granted to any foreign country. The duties payable on British goods imported into Ireland, seem, by their moderation, as well adapted to answer the purpose, as any that could be devised: but to make this system complete, there should be added proper regulations with respect to bounties in future, and with respect to the duties on raw materials imported into each kingdom.

It is, in the judgment of the committee, a great recommendation of this plan, that if it should be carried into execution, and become the system in which both countries shall be bound hereafter to conform, it will secure them in future from the unpleasant contests, to which, in pursuit of their respective interests, they may be otherwise exposed; and his Majesty, as sovereign of the two kingdoms, will be relieved from the disagreeable situation of having laws presented to him by the respective Houses of Parliament, for his assent, which, though beneficial to one of his kingdoms, may, in their opinion, be highly detrimental to the interest of the other.

But it suited not the temper of the manufacturing interests in England to make any such arrangement, and their influence on the legislature prevented any step being taken on this recommendation. However, the retaliatory measures to which Ireland was at length driven, alarmed the selfishness of those interests, and compelled them to abandon the system of "leaving things as they were." The question then was, how to change them without granting too much to Ireland. It was seen that such a change could be effected only by a Union, which, while it granted in appearance the commercial advantage that Ireland required, would, as we shall immediately shew, nullify it in effect, by operation of the accompanying regulations. And this project of a Union had the further recommendation, that Ireland, in return for the apparent advantage alluded

The consequence of her doing so.

Commercial motives of

to, was to reduce at once to an utterly inefficient and insignificant amount, the import duties that had hitherto saved her home manufactures, and finally to abolish those duties altogether—and furthermore was to be subjected to the ruinously exhausting drains of capital, which were easily foreseen to be the inevitable consequence of the measure in agitation.

England to accomplish the Union.

The advantage to Ireland of admission for her goods into English ports, was nullified by the provision, by which "countervailing" duties were put on them there, to balance the heavier excise duties which such goods of English manufacture had to pay. On the other hand English goods going to Ireland, got a drawback on export from England of the heavy English excise duty they had paid, and entering Ireland, met a much lower rate of excise, and had consequently only a very moderate "countervailing" duty put upon them here.

Its provisions nugatory as to good to Irish commerce.

The "drains of capital" alluded to, as occasioned by the Union, have been spoken of at large, in the article on the "Catastrophe of Injustice;" and therefore need not be dwelt upon here. They consist of the surplus revenue taken from Ireland—the payments for foreign goods received now through England, which formerly we received direct—and, above all, the millions spent out of the country by the absentee proprietors. These last had no attraction to remain in their native land, when the parliament was gone; and the consequence has been, that they have emigrated in such numbers, that whereas a million and a half was the amount of this drain in 1801, it is now generally believed to exceed four millions and a half—a sum equal to the whole revenue that Ireland is able to contribute to the state!

Its absence leaves no hope for our manufactures.

The aggregate of annual "drain" from Ireland at the present moment, is nearly nine millions—or double her public revenue!

Irish capital drained away.

When money was thus constantly, and in an annually increasing amount, flowing out of Ireland without return,

during the period of years allotted by the act of Union, for the gradual cessation of the remaining protecting duties, it can well be conceived that commercial enterprise, and all the operations of industry, declined and grew less. In the twenty years then that elapsed ere the commercial arrangements of the Union were re-considered in 1821, the manufactures of Ireland may, at the best, be said to have dragged on a sickly and precarious existence, rather than to have maintained, much less improved, the vigour that had marked their early growth before 1800. They were no longer formidable, yet the cruel spirit of commercial monopoly was not to be satisfied so long as any vitality remained; and though the cries of the perishing artisans of Ireland did, by some strange chance, reach the ears of the English parliament in 1821, and procure some extension of the time originally marked out for the duration of the "Union Duties," as they were called, yet in the very next year a commission was appointed, as it would seem, to *find excuses* for getting rid of them, and on its report their doom was sealed, and they were got rid of with as much haste as decency at all allowed.*

* Scant as was the decency observed towards us in these respects, it was still less, or rather none at all, in others, since the Union. Notwithstanding, that in 1825, a committee (of course of the imperial parliament) had, after a patient and full enquiry, reported that "Ireland had undoubtedly strong claims for every encouragement to her linen manufacture, at least to the extent of the annual grant of parliament;" (viz. £20,000, the remnant of the old promised encouragement to that manufacture;)—notwithstanding this deliberate opinion, twice expressed in their report, the grant was reduced three years afterwards one-half, and the succeeding year withdrawn altogether!

In the same way a grant of £10,000, voted annually since the Union to the Wide-street Board, and defended by Sir Robert Peel, (when secretary for Ireland,) as no more than a fitting partial compensation to Dublin, for the evil consequences of the Union to that city, was withdrawn, a short time before the withdrawal of the linen grant, with quite as little apology or warning. And no later than last year (to pass over some other instances of particular injustice) we had one general sweeping blow made at all the charitable institutions of Dublin, that received any aid from the public purse. A commission was issued to enquire into the claims of such institutions in Dublin, to receive aid not given elsewhere. The report of the commissioners—conservative gentlemen of great respectability and most undoubtedly *no Repeaters*—is an admirable rebuff to the petty prying jealousy that instigated such an enquiry. It would have been more dignified for a government to have sought information on the subject privately, ere

If we do not altogether deny the truth of the remark in the report alluded to, to the effect that the "Union Duties" operated to "enhance the price of the most indispensable instruments of agricultural labour; and of those implements and materials in most general request by the various classes of artizans and mechanics; and at the same time, to make almost all manufactured articles from 15 to 20 per cent. dearer than in England," we are by no means

committing itself by an overt act, betraying malice prepense; and malice too that is now defeated of its object. The following is some of the main part of the report:—

"Immediately after the Union, Dublin, it may be said, ceased to be a metropolis as regards the wealthy, while it continued a metropolis as regards the poor; and in no inconsiderable degree it has remained so since. The causes, therefore, which induced those who framed the articles of Union to introduce stipulations into that measure as regards Dublin, appears to us to be still in extensive operation. Other causes likewise (not, however, having effect on Dublin alone)—the increase of population, without a corresponding increase in wealth, the want of capital, the decay of manufactures in Ireland, operating to increase the proportion of poor—have operated likewise to increase rather than diminish the cogency of those reasons which led to the stipulations in the articles of Union.

"In evidence of this we beg leave to notice the increased accommodation which the governors at different periods, and with the sanction of government, have been compelled to supply in most of these institutions, and the increased grants, notwithstanding the financial difficulties of the empire, which various governments have deemed it necessary to make for their support.

"In further evidence of this disproportionate increase of the poorer classes in Dublin, we have to observe that, notwithstanding the support thus rendered by government to certain institutions, others of a similar character, arising principally out of the exigencies of the lower classes, have been established and are supported, some by private means alone, and some partly from private means and partly from local assessment.

"We therefore submit that the necessity which was found to exist previous to and at the time of the Union for extraneous support as regards Dublin, in aid of its principal charitable institutions, (arising, in our opinion, from the disproportion between the wealthy and the poorer classes of the community,) has, as was anticipated, increased since that period, and still continues, although, we trust and believe, it may be now gradually diminishing.

"Dublin, therefore, with its population of upwards of 250,000, is, in our opinion, an exception to all other cities in the empire; and we respectfully urge, that because in London and the other large towns in England, private charity may have been found amply sufficient for the support of their public charitable institutions, it by no means follows, that in Dublin, where the poor are so numerous, and the rich comparatively are so few, it would be reasonable or just to expect from her citizens an extent of liberality which neither their numbers nor circumstances could fairly warrant.

This answer shamed the government out of their plan of stopping the grants, which, after all, have been found not to have amounted since 1800 to more than 120,000*l.* in the whole!

If re-
stored,
they will
revive.

to be understood as agreeing, that the measure of abolishing them was the proper remedy. We impute this injurious action of theirs, not to intrinsic evil, but to the absence of the money-capital of Ireland, which, had it remained at home, would have vivified enterprise and industry, and enabled our manufacturers to take advantage of the moderate protection still left to them, to produce at as cheap a rate at least as the Englishman, the goods required. Since the abolition of these duties, the Englishman had complete command of our market. The instances are many in which attempts in Ireland to restore some waning or perished manufacture, have been crushed by means of the temporary sacrifice of profit, which the superior wealth of the English capitalist enabled him to make, to undersell his rash Irish competitor. The worm at the vitals of Irish enterprise, is the want of capital, and till the latter is restored, there is little hope for our manufacturers and artizans.

It will be
restored
by Re-
peal.

But to restore this capital, the Repeal of the Act of Union was and is necessary. The parliament must be at home; 1st. to give the absentees an inducement to come home; 2nd. to enable us to stop the drains of revenue, by getting rid of the unjust burthen of English debts; and 3rd. to give us the means of making our own commercial arrangements with foreign countries, whereby we can not only prevent the recurrence of such reckless injury to our commercial interests, as was involved in the recent commercial negotiations of England with France and Portugal, but we can obtain advantages, which our being bound now to the high tariffs of England, prevents us from obtaining in foreign countries; and furthermore, shall have all the duty paid by us on foreign imports credited to our own revenue, instead of, as now, going to swell the receipts of the English exchequer.

Under this altered state of circumstances we should have a sum of from eight to nine millions of money, at the very least, annually spent in the country, which is now drained

out of her) and as much lost to her as if thrown into the sea.

Whether, after the Repeal, duties should be levied here on English imports, is a question we are not now called upon to discuss. If England readily yielded to the inconceivable justice of our claim to be relieved from our present most unjust responsibility for her debt, we might, in return, show our good will, by letting in her commodities duty-free. Our taxes would become so very much lighter than here, that our manufactures would have virtually the same advantages they now expect from import duties. But if we must continue under this unjust responsibility, nothing could be wiser than that we should seek revenue wherewith to meet it, from taxes on English goods. It may be considered as an established axiom, that import-duties, if kept below the point at which smuggling (with all its long train of immorality and crime) can begin, are the fairest source to which the government of a country can look for the revenues necessary to carry on the public business, and to support the public burthens.

In either of the cases mentioned, viz., of lighter taxes than in England, or of revenue-duties on English manufactured goods, there would be, at this side of the water, a prospect of profitable investment opened for the surplus capital of England. At present there is no such thing as the Englishman who should attempt an enterprise in Ireland, has, of course, no better protection against the combinations of the monopolists than the native manufacturer. Failing thus of a field in Ireland, and that at home being even overstocked, English surplus capital has been forced to seek investments in countries in the other hemisphere, where the circumstances of natural position, or of peculiar legislation, or of both combined, ensured advan-

Question as to whether duties on English goods then necessary.

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* Such import-duties not however to be on the materials of manufactures.

† It would, however, be so much for the interest of both countries to be good friends, that we do not anticipate any serious differences arising between them on this point. There is great safety for the future in the strong interlacement of both private and public interests between them.

tage for goods produced in the country, over imported articles.

The contemptible fallacy, that "agitation has kept English capital out of Ireland," falls to the ground at once, when we consider the continued civil distractions and endless and sanguinary revolutions of the South American States, into which English capital has so largely and steadily flowed.

Summary
remarks
in conclu-
sion.

Our sketch of the *many* commercial *injustices* inflicted upon this country by Great Britain is now done. We have shown how uniformly intolerant has been the conduct of the latter. Every interest of ours checked, repressed, put in abeyance, when thought to come at all in contact with hers—delusive promises held out—lasting and reckless injury inflicted.

At the beginning of the last century her cry was, that we were not fit for the woollen manufacture; but that if we devoted ourselves to linen, we should have the highest encouragement in that branch. It has been the object of these pages to prove how she kept that promise "to the ear, but broke it to the hope," by giving greater encouragement to the Scotch linen, and to her own. The cry since the Union has been, that we ought not to think of *any* manufacture, but to devote ourselves to the supplying Great Britain with our agricultural produce. The tariff of last year proves that she does not hold herself bound to us in this particular either.

In truth, she has done what, after all, was but natural; attended to her own interests, and to her own interests alone. The misfortune to us has been, that she has had the power of controlling *our* interests. This power must be got rid of, if we would ever hope to see our country attain to that prosperity, of which Providence has so abundantly given her the means, but of which she has so long been cruelly deprived by man.

ADDENDA

TO THE

"COMMERCIAL INJUSTICES."

No. 1.

The progress of the Linen Trade of Ireland was as follows :

Taking our figures, partly from M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, (article "*Linen*,") but mainly from the Report of the *Hand-loom Weavers' Enquiry* ; and taking also the seven years averages stated in that Report, to be the proper measure by which to estimate such progress, we find that—

EXPORT OF IRISH LINEN.

The average of 7 years, including and ending respectively with the years	1714	1,665,486	} Increase in this period of 66 yrs. 17,800,893 yds. Ditto, 2nd period, 18 yrs. 22,114,593 yards. Ditto, from 1800 up to 1825, 5,917,735 yards.
	1780	19,556,379	
	1798	41,670,972	
	1825	47,588,707	

A very short calculation will shew, that had the linen trade progressed in the first period as it did in the second, it ought to have shewn an increase above the statement for 1714, of not less than eighty millions, instead of eighteen. And, similarly, had it progressed since the Union in the manner in which it did during the same second period stated above, it ought to have shewn an increase over that period, of not less than thirty millions, instead of being short of six millions !

But the defect since the Union is not only on comparison with the period that Ireland had the free management of her commercial concerns, but even in comparison with the period *previous* to 1780. It will be seen that at the rate of progression in the period since the Union, nearly *eighty years* should elapse ere the linen trade could make the same advance, that under the guidance even of her fettered and restricted parliament before 1780, she had made in sixty-six years !

One of the assistant commissioners of the enquiry, whose report we quote, seeks to make it appear, that the increase since the Union is more valuable than the mere figures would denote: his remark is:

"Ireland lost in a great measure her coarse linen trade, owing to the prohibition placed on export of yarn in 1784, which forced the English manufacturers to turn their attention to providing yarn at home; which they did so successfully as not only to be able to be independent of a supply from Ireland, but also to drive the Irish out of the market in those coarse fabrics to which their mill-spun yarn was capable of being applied. The exports of linen since 1800 were chiefly of the finer linens, and therefore indicate a greater degree of prosperity of the linen trade than would at first appear." *Otway's Report, H. L. Enquiry, p. 620.*

The over-anxiety of Mr. Commissioner Otway to prove that the Union has done every thing for us, has here led him into a mis-statement. If he were correct, then must the English manufacturers of 50 years ago, have been very different men from the keen, active, and enterprising class they are at this day; inasmuch as they must have taken not less than sixteen years (viz. from 1784 to 1801) to provide themselves elsewhere than from Ireland, with a material so much needed as linen yarn! But the fact is, as Mr. Otway might have seen had he consulted the debates of the Irish Parliament during that time, and the publications in Ireland having relation to commerce, that the English market became almost immediately shut to the Irish coarse linens, after the export of yarn to that market was stopped; and that consequently the export from Ireland during much the greater part of the period 1784—1801, was of the finer description.

It may be argued that the small proportion which the post-Union increase of linen-export bears to that between 1780 and 1798, is mainly owing to the fact that there was not room for much further improvement; the linen, like every other trade, having its limits. This, however, is in fact only another testimony to the beneficial influence of Irish home legislation, since under its short-lived auspices, the utmost limit was so nearly attained. And it remains for the advocates of the Union to show, that had that measure never been carried, the six millions increase up to 1825 would not have occurred by the mere force of the increase of demand in England, caused by the increase of population in that country; to say nothing of the continuance of that beneficial influence which, on such good ground of indisputable figures, we ascribe to "home legislation."

It is unanimously acknowledged and declared, that since 1825, when the traffic between the two countries was assimilated

No. 2.

The "Balance of Trade," or relative proportion to each other of a country's exports and imports, was a test in much vogue in the last century, when the advantages or disadvantages of external trade were to be estimated. Sounder notions of political economy have, to use an expressive French phrase, much "discredited" this test. The idea is exploded, that an import trade is bad for a country, merely because she pays in money for what she receives. Money has been recognized as to the full as much a "marketable commodity," as the "goods," or "produce," ordinarily so considered; and where importation has been found

in any case really disadvantageous, it has been, because of some peculiarity in the *quality*, not because of the *quantity*, abstractedly speaking, of the articles received. Again, a great exportation has been seen not to be, *of necessity*, a great benefit. On the contrary it has come sometimes to be considered a great evil—as in the case of export of commodities wanted by the population at home—or where a valuable return is not certain and immediate.

To come then to a proper judgment of the real commercial *status* of a country, the *nature*, as well as the quantity of her exports and imports must be enquired into; and their effects, generally, upon the condition of the inhabitants.

Our space limits us to a very brief and cursory examination of these points.

We have seen in the article to which this is appended, how wretched was the commercial condition of Ireland before 1780; and some evidences have been recorded of her extraordinary advance subsequently. The rate of Exchange was after 1780 steadily in her favor, in her dealings with England; (as recorded in the report of a committee of the imperial parliament in 1804, upon the currency, &c. &c. of Ireland.) The committee to which we refer, although an *English* committee of an English Parliament, did themselves confess the prosperity of Ireland after 1782. They, to be sure, ascribe that prosperity to the mere fact of the establishment of the Bank of Ireland in 1783; but this inadequate cause for so great an effect, as the "*rapid advances of trade, manufactures, and agriculture,*" which they speak of, (Report, page 12,) we need not delay to discuss; being satisfied with their confession of the fact of those advances.

The excess of the exports of Ireland, over what she received in return from England, (namely, as more than two to one, see Foster, debate in committee, 1799,) would of itself be enough to demonstrate the activity of her manufactures—her export of unmanufactured produce being comparatively nothing, and her home-consumption being, in a very great over-proportion, supplied by herself.

Comparisons will best shew the state of her home-consumption of those foreign articles, whose use is generally taken as the scale by which to estimate the degree of prosperity of a people. The following comparisons are not only the quantities consumed in Ireland at periods before and after the Union, but between those quantities and what were consumed in England at corresponding periods. The figures verifying them in detail will be found in the report of the committee of 1830, on the "State of the Irish Poor,"—Mr. Spring Rice, the present Lord Monteagle, chairman—(see Appendices, G. 1. and G. 2. p.p. 112—125, No. 667 of 1830 *Reports*.)

Tea —Increase of consumption in Ireland,	84	per cent.
In England	45	do.
From 1786 to the Union.		
Tobacco —Increase in Ireland,	- - 100	do.
In England	- - 64	do.
From 1787 to the Union.		
Wine —Increase in Ireland,	- - - 74	do.
In England -	- - - 22	do.
From 1785 to the Union.		
Sugar —Increase in Ireland,	- - - 57	do.
In England -	- - - 53	do.
From 1784 to the Union.		
Coffee —Increase in Ireland,	- - - 600	do.
In England -	- - - 75	do.

Tea —Increase in England,	-	-	25 per cent.
Increase in Ireland,	-	-	24 per cent.
Coffee —Increase in England,	-	-	1,800 per cent.
Increase in Ireland,	-	-	400 per cent.
Sugar —Increase in England,	-	-	26 per cent.
Increase in Ireland,	-	-	16 per cent.
Tobacco —Increase in England,	-	-	27 per cent.
<i>Decrease</i> in Ireland,	-	-	37 per cent.
Wine —Increase in England,	-	-	24 per cent.
<i>Decrease</i> in Ireland,	-	-	45 per cent.

We have, in the preceding Addendum, shewn the progress of the linen trade in the period of legislative independence, as advantageously contrasted with the preceding and subsequent periods.

The defenders of the Union ordinarily lay much stress on the increased export of cattle, sheep, and provisions, since that measure. This export, however, is *from a starving people*; and being so, the argument as to its great value to Ireland is not one to waste much time in considering. A curious fact has come out with reference to this subject. A return appeared in all the Dublin papers, in November, 1842, of the number of sheep and horned cattle at the great Fair at Ballinasloe, every year from 1790 to 1842. A statement of the number for the year 1843 appeared in the papers last November. The following figures, thus obtained, we put in the same table, with figures from a Parliamentary Return of 1834, and the Irish Railway

Report, shewing the *export* of the articles mentioned in two of the years included. We have no return of the export last year.

Years.	Sheep.	Export of Ditto.	Horned Cattle.	Export of Do.
1799	77,900	800	9,900	14,000
1835	62,400	125,000	8,500	98,000
1843	62,726		8,815	

The question naturally arises—what became of the 77,000 surplus sheep in the first year, as well as the sheep at the other fairs?—*They were eaten at home.*

As to oxen, 14,000 went away in 1799, and 98,000 in 1835; yet if we test the product of all Ireland in the former year, by the most sufficient criterion of the amount at Ballinasloe fair, we shall find that Ireland had then *more for sale than in 1835*, and consumed the greater part of the surplus over her export—exporting the remainder in the more valuable form of *provisions*.

The parliamentary documents quoted before, enable us to shew what the export of provisions was in the years 1799 and 1835.

Year.	Export of Cattle.	Swine.	Beef and Pork, Barrels.
1799	14,000	4,000	278,000
1835	98,000	76,000	140,000

There has then been, since the Union, a *decrease* of the *more* valuable export, (viz., provisions—valuable because of the labour employed at home in their manufacture,)—and an *increase* of the *less* valuable, viz., the live animals—less valuable to a country as an article of export, by reason of the small quantity of employment which is given in the preparing of it.

As the diminution of the number of barrels of beef and pork will not, by any means, account for the great increase of the live export—while the whole number of cattle produced in Ireland in 1835, was, at any rate, *not greater* than in 1799—it follows, that much of the excess of live export in 1835, must have been by *deduction from the number previously consumed at home*—and therefore, that the home-consumers in the latter year, was considerably *less than in the year before the Union*, notwithstanding the *cent. per cent. increase of population*.

But it may be said, that the market for Irish cattle and provisions was probably "a forced one" before the Union. So far, however, was this from being the case, that there were actually *duties on their export*; yet so active and profitable was the home-demand, that not only was there no complaint from parties in that trade, but on being offered by Mr. Foster, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, to have the exports made free, those parties actually *declined the offer*.

The war could not be said to have forced the demand in 1789; for in the years 1787, 1788, and 1789 there was no war, and the average export of those years was 227,564 barrels—on which the amount given above for 1799, was no more than a natural and moderate increase.

Since the Union, the home-market for these commodities has become extremely limited; and what advantage was gained by the extended market in England is now passing away. The tariff-reform of last session was one severe blow to our Irish *monopoly*, as it was called, of supplying the English market in these respects. A strange *monopoly*! which amounted to no more than the privilege of sending over cattle and provisions, at of course heavy charges for freight, &c., &c., to compete in the English market with the same articles of native produce. This competition of course prevented the Irish dealer from charging his expenses in his prices, and therefore his profits were considerably reduced from what they would have been had the so-called "*monopoly*" really existed. In fact he but supplied the gap that the Englishman or Scotchman could not help leaving open. The measure of the session before last tends to narrow his market still more—and last year these interests received another heavy blow by the most unexpected reduction of the government contracts, from 26,000 tierces of beef and pork last year, to no more than 1200 tierces!

Mr. Foster in 1799 said, that "Ireland exported no unmanufactured wool; it *worked up all it had*, and there was little reason to suppose the quantity would be enlarged, as the *great increase of agriculture and of the linen manufacture*, gave a better profit in the land, than sheep afforded."

Ireland has, since the Union, ceased for several years to work up all, or a considerable portion of her own wool. She exports the greater part of it now—and exports it in a way the least profitable to her, namely, on the back of the live animal.

The following extract from a speech by a high conservative authority, was read by Mr. O'Connell, when opening the Repeal Debate in the Dublin Corporation, on the 28th of February, 1843. It bears on the general state of Irish commerce since the Union.

"I am now about to read you an extract from a speech pro-

nounced by the Rev. Doctor Boyton, on Saturday, the 23rd of February, 1833 :—

“The exports and imports, as far as they are a test of a decay of profitable occupation—so far as the exports and imports are supplied from the parliamentary returns—exhibit extraordinary evidences of the condition of the labouring classes. The importation of flax-seed (an evidence of the extent of a most important source of employment) was—in 1790, 339,745 barrels; 1800, 327,621 barrels; 1830, 168,458 barrels. The importation of silk, raw and thrown, was—in 1790, 92,091lbs.; 1800, 79,060lbs.; 1830, 3,190lbs. Of unwrought iron, in 1790, 2,971 tons; in 1800, 10,241 tons; in 1830, 871 tons. Formerly we spun all our own woollen and worsted yarn. We imported in 1790, only 2,294lbs.; in 1800, 1,880lbs.; in 1826, 662,750lbs. An enormous increase. There were, I understand, upwards of thirty persons engaged in the woollen trade in Dublin, who have become bankrupts since 1821. There has been, doubtless, an increase in the exports of cottons. The exports were—in 1800, 9,147 yards; 1826–7, 793,873. The exports of cotton from Great Britain were—in 1829, 402,517,196 yards, value, £12,516,247, which will give the value of our cotton exports at something less than a quarter of a million—poor substitutes for our linens, which in the province of Ulster alone exceeded in value two millions two hundred thousand pounds.”

Having given a conservative authority, we now give that of a liberal. The gentleman we allude to is MICHAEL STAUNTON, Esq., T. C., Dublin. In a speech in the Repeal Association last December, and several articles in his excellent paper (the Weekly Register), both before and since, he gives the following, in reply to allegations by a pamphleteer whom government have recently employed to string together fallacies by way of answer to the arguments of the Repealers.

Referring to the production of this individual (Mr. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, author of “The History of the British Colonies,” proprietor and editor of a London Newspaper of three weeks existence, entitled “*The Repealer*,” &c. &c.) Mr. STAUNTON spoke as follows, in a speech delivered by him in the Conciliation Hall, Dublin, Dec. 11, 1843 :—

“It is not to a charge of mere sophistry that Mr. Martin has left himself open in his present, and, indeed, in his former work; it is to the *suppressio veri*—to a fabrication of the *data* on which he founds his conclusions. If he sets down a row of figures you are prepared for the result to which such a process ordinarily leads; if he strikes a total, or gives you the material for a total, you do not suspect that he leads you away from truth; for, to do this in arithmetical illustration, affecting a great cause and the fortunes of a people, is of a piece with the

turpitude of poisoning the springs in time of warfare (cheers). Mr. O'Neill, then, did not think himself justifiable in refusing his belief until better informed; but that Mr. Martin, in these works, grossly, enormously deceives his readers, I shall show by some examples of a character which have never before, I believe, been witnessed in political controversy (hear, hear). I shall not, on the present occasion, follow Mr. Martin through his antiquities, on which he is confused, contradictory, ill-informed, and absurd. I shall not apply myself much even to his attempt to show that Ireland drooped between 1782 and the Union; but there is one fact which it would be a crime to overlook. Not satisfied with the general allegation that Ireland was in decay for eighteen years before the Union, Mr. Martin professes to give the details demonstrating the fact, and he takes from them the table of exports. What are these details? Certain items, fifteen in number, showing a trifling decline. There are two sides to an account, but Mr. Martin was satisfied with one, and therefore he omitted every insertion in the catalogue showing increase. He omitted in his table of Irish exports even linen; it was literally the part of *Hamlet* left out of the play, by particular desire. He omitted bacon, beef, butter, oats, candles, &c. And even in playing off a great fraud he managed to commit a minor one, for instead of beginning, as he ought to have done, at 1782, and ending at 1800, for the sake of a petty advantage he began at 1785, and closed at 1798. Now, taking in the whole transactions, even within this limited period, there appears to be an increase instead of a deficit, of 3,536,000*l*. But, taking the account in the fairest way, that is, contrasting the five years ending in 1782 with the five years ended in 1800, the increase reaches to 7,000,000*l*. In the first period the aggregate of the exports in round numbers was

...	£15,000,000
In the second period	22,000,000

Being an increase of	£7,000,000
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There was another minor fraud quite characteristic: there is a fluctuation in all commercial transactions; receipts will be in some years more and in others less. Mr. Martin looked into the sugar, wine, and tobacco tables, and seeing this, he took his amounts from the records of the years most favouring his argument. His sugar account takes in periods of three years, beginning in 1789 and ending in 1794; his wine account carries the last year to 1796, and his tobacco account only comprehends two years—the first 1794, and the second 1796. By this device he is able to show his favourite “decline in all items.” It seems, however, that if he took four years ended 1782, and four years ended 1800, as he ought to have done, there would

ENDA TO APPENDIX NO. IV.

... all heads, and it would be of the following
 ... sugar, 361,000 cwt.; wine, 1,207,000 gallons;
 ... 2,500,000 lbs. So much for the effort to show
 ... was declining in the last eighteen years of the last
 ... the illustrations of gigantic advancement
 ... to Dublin, which it will be new to us all to
 ... flourishing. It seems there were 3,213 houses built
 ... since the Union. This proves my case, says Mr.
 ... has not been told, or, if he had, he suppresses the
 ... more houses than this are insolvent or falling
 ... Mr. Thomas Ellis, member of Parliament for
 ... covered the following statement of house insolvencies
 ... committee in 1822:—

HOUSES INSOLVENT IN DUBLIN.

1815	...	...	...	...	...	880
1816	...	...	...	...	...	1,072
1817	...	...	...	...	...	1,588
1818	...	...	...	...	...	2,397
1819	...	...	...	...	...	3,206
1820	...	...	...	...	...	3,989
1821	...	...	...	...	...	4,719

... rather exceeds the number of the new houses. The fact
 ... to this instant houses are dropping into insolvency and
 ... Dublin, and there are districts in which some once
 ... and excellent residences are let for the amount of the
 ... (hear, hear). I see it boasted that the houses
 ... increased throughout Ireland since the Union. Have not
 ... doubled during the interval? Mr. Martin thinks it
 ... that a certain Dr. Bindon mentioned in 1727 that
 ... in twenty was a pauper in Ireland. We heard some time
 ... that the proportion was one in three, or one in four, and
 ... we all remember when 74,000 citizens of Dublin were announced
 ... to be in the receipt of daily charity (hear, hear). Mr. Martin
 ... insists, in defiance of all authority, that the absentee drain does
 ... not exceed £2,000,000; and, that his book should want no
 ... monstrosity, he solemnly avers that the Union was “a triumph
 ... of reason and a sense of mutual interests,” and not a triumph of
 ... error, corruption, and a suspension of all forms of constitu-
 ... tional law (cheers). He undertakes to show progress in ship-
 ... building, but he comes down only to 1830. After that he says
 ... there were no returns. There were returns, but as there was
 ... decline after 1830 he gets rid of the acknowledgment by
 ... saying that after that all is a blank in the public records
 ... (hear, hear). He contrasts the customs' receipts of Dublin in
 ... 1841 with the receipts of 1829. Why take these years spe-

cially? Because 1841 had the advantage over 1829 of the sugar duties, which were paid in England in 1829, but which were paid in Dublin in 1841. The great agent, however, in the delusions which Mr. Martin and others have been practising is, a return taken from the report of the Railway Commissioners. According to that statement, exports and imports had doubled between 1825 and 1835. There is no account of the real values of exports in 1825; but judging of them by the decrease of such values since the war, the united exports and imports of 1825 could not have exceeded £16,000,000. The railway report asserts that they were £32,000,000 in 1835. Then they doubled in the interval according to this representation. I shall show how utterly unwarranted it would be to adopt such a conclusion (hear, hear). In the first place, there is no sufficient authority for the statement in the railway report (hear, hear). The account the Railway Commissioners themselves give of their table is the following:—‘It is greatly to be regretted that on a matter so important, and capable of affording so useful an indication of the condition of the country, *documents having official authority cannot be referred to*. To supply this deficiency we applied to the Commissioners of Customs, who directed their collectors at the several ports to prepare the returns given in the Appendix B, No. 9. From these returns the table of exports and imports for 1835, Appendix B, No. 10, has been compiled. In Porter’s tables we find a similar table for 1825.’ The Commissioners in a note add:—‘We regret that the state of the labouring population does not warrant us in assuming that any considerable portion of this increased consumption is shared by them. The demand seems to proceed almost exclusively from the superior class of landholders and the inhabitants of the towns’ (p. 17). As to the general condition of the peasantry, they state—‘Amongst the effects of this rapid increase of population, without a corresponding increase of remunerative employment, the most alarming, though the most obviously to be expected result, is a deterioration of the food of the peasantry. Milk is become almost a luxury to many of them; and the quality of their potato diet is generally much inferior to what it was at the commencement of the present century. A species of potato called ‘the lumper’ has been brought into general cultivation, on account of its great productiveness, and the facility with which it can be raised from an inferior soil, and with a comparatively small portion of manure. This root, at its first introduction, was scarcely considered food good enough for swine; it neither possesses the farinaceous qualities of the better varieties of the plant, nor is it as palatable as any other, being wet and tasteless, and in point of substantial nutriment little better, as an article of human food, than a Swedish turnip. In many counties of Leinster, and throughout the provinces of

Munster and Connaught, the lumpers now constitutes the principal food of the labouring peasantry, a fact which is the more striking when we consider the great increase of produce, together with its manifest improvement in quality, which is annually raised in Ireland for exportation and for consumption by the superior classes.' This is the account the Railway Commissioners give of their tables and the general condition of the people. Admitting that there was a real advance of great magnitude, they proclaim that it little benefitted the 'labouring population.' And who are the 'labouring population?' The country itself—the bone and sinew of the state (great cheering). Ireland is said to be the inheritance of 10,000 proprietors. There are some thousands who have derivative interests of much value, but forty-nine fiftieths of Ireland and of every country, are the 'labouring population.' They are the great consumers—they are the principal payers of the taxes—they compose the army and navy—they are the defenders of the country in case of invasion—and they are the props and pillars of the throne under all circumstances (cheering). Yet, it is said that they have had no perceptible benefit from this great increase, even supposing it not to be a fable. If they have not been served there was no increase worth boasting of; if they have not been served it is absurd to assume an increase at all, for it is quite impossible that what are called the superior classes, and the inhabitants of towns, could have doubled their advantages in ten short years, without an essential benefit to the whole people—to the artizans in all quarters, and even to those agricultural labourers who are acknowledged to have descended to the 'lumper' since the commencement of the present century; that is, since Ireland had the protection of a resident parliament (loud cheers). But whatever may be said of the statement in the railway report, it is allowed that it rests on no *data* which are authentic. Are there any *data* of that character to warrant us in inferring its fallacy? There are several (hear, hear). 1st, We have an authentic account of the transactions before 1825. I will take them up from 1805, that is, twenty years before that interval of ten, which we are considering. We shall most easily judge of the relative amounts within this time, if we take the aggregate transactions in periods each of five years:—

	Aggregate of Imports.	Exports.	Real value of Exports.
1805 to 1810 ...	32,826,989	27,483,722	51,909,990
1810 to 1815 ...	38,308,645	33,453,386	64,567,887
1815 to 1820 ...	29,330,643	32,634,860	53,362,560
1820 to 1825 ..	30,698,877	36,233,210	45,006,460

Taking them in two periods of ten years each, the amounts are the following:—

	Aggregate of Imports.	Exports.	Real value of Exports.
1st 10 years ...	71,135,634	60,949,118	116,477,877
2nd 10 years ...	60,039,311	68,868,070	98,369,020

The imports were not as good in the second period as the first; the exports, taking the official values, were somewhat better; but uniting the transactions under both heads, there was a falling off—considering the exports with reference to real values, a great falling off. Does this afford any colour of ground for the belief that, in the next ten years to these, two periods of ten years each, there was a doubling of the transactions, a two-fold increase, an increase reaching to the extraordinary magnitude of cent. per cent. An increase of cent. per cent. in ten years! The idea is preposterous. What was there in the interval between 1825 and 1835 to warrant the supposition that there was any increase at all? Nothing, certainly, in the state of Ireland, or the general condition of the empire. But there was in one of the preceding intervals, much to render a great increase most likely, for it was a period of war. Accordingly, we find that up to 1814 there was, from 1805, a decided augmentation of transactions. The activity of the war then ceased, and with it the increase of the transactions, profits suffering a great diminution. Between 1814 and 1825, profits on exports declined fully one half, the real values being, in the former year, £14,830,000, whereas, they were, in the latter, only £7,320,000. There is a second ground on which we assume the fallacy of the statement. It represents that there was an increase of the linen exports to the extent of rather more than 27 per cent. There is an authentic account of the British transactions in the exportation of linen between 1825 and 1835, deducible from the annual finance accounts. The value of this commodity exported in the two years was as follows:—

	Official Value.	Real Value.
1825	£3,280,000	£2,440,000
1835	3,760,000	2,360,000

This shows a decline in real value, but an increase of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in official value. This increase, however, was likely to be a Scotch increase. I need not state, that there is a large exportation of Scotch as well as Irish linens from British ports. There is no recent account of the transactions in Scotch linens;

but we have one in M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary from 1813 to 1822. The yards exported in these two years were as follows :—

	Yards.
1813,	19,000,000
1822,	36,000,000

Here we have an increase, not of 27 per cent., but nearly 90 per cent., and that the effect was operative on the amount of British exports between 1825 and 1835 is inferable from the great increase of Scotch revenue and trade in general in that interval. Hence it is fair to conclude, that of the comparatively small augmentation of British transactions in linen, between 1825 and 1835, no part was connected with Ireland; and if that were the case, it may be taken for granted, that there was no augmentation whatever in the Irish linen manufacture between these years; though if we were to believe the statement of the railway report, it increased more than 27 per cent.

There is a third ground on which the fallacy of the statement may be assumed. The foreign trade of Ireland declined on the whole between 1825 and 1835 :—

	Imports.	Exports.
1825	£1,400,000	£705,000
1835	1,450,000	336,000

The imports were about stationary, but the exports fell off more than one-half. This is a state of things wholly incompatible with the assumed extension of our commerce, especially the shipping interests. The value of our linens exported to foreign countries fell off from £180,000 to £86,000. There is a fourth ground. The revenue was stationary between 1825 and 1835 :—

Aggregate amount of Irish Revenue in five years.			
ending 1825 ... ..	...	...	£22,538,000
Ditto, ditto, 1835 ... ..	...	...	22,096,000

It may be said that there were taxes repealed between 1825 and 1835, which lessened the produce of the Irish revenue. Yes, but these were taxes imposed—taxes on paper, glass, hides and skins, postage, wines, spirits, and other commodities. The spirit revenue, which in 1825 was £770,030, was in 1835, £1,490,000, being an increase of £720,000. The taxes imposed were, I believe, fully equal to those remitted. There is a fifth ground. The railway report alleges that the increase of the value of the tea imported in the ten years, was 22 per cent. If there was a real increase to that extent, there ought to have been a similar increase of the tea revenue. In 1825 that

revenue amounted to £445,000. It was only partly paid in Ireland in 1835, and its total amount cannot be stated, but it was wholly paid in 1836-7-8-9:—

Tea duty, 1836	...	...	£476,000
1837	...	...	470,000
1838	...	...	469,000
1839	...	...	405,000

This gives an average of £440,000, which is rather below the amount of 1825. Tea, not only in ten years, but in twenty-seven years following the Union, increased only eleven per cent; though the tax payable upon it in Ireland increased 220 per cent:

	lbs.	Duty.
Tea 1825	3,499,000	£135,000
Tea 1835	3,887,000	442,000

There is a sixth ground on which the statement may be concluded to be grossly exaggerated. If it were true, the Irish transactions exceeded out of all proportion those of Great Britain, though looking at the customs' revenue there was only a fractional difference between the countries. In the materials for manufactures, and the employment of labour, there was, with one exception, a falling off between 1825 and 1835, as will be seen by the following table:—

	1825.	1835.
Ashes	13,000	2
Barilla	31,000	9,000
Bark	3,600	4,900
Brimstone	14,000	519
Hemp	6,900	134
Iron	3,300	765
Silk	4,900	19
Velonia	3,300	2,600
Cotton Wool	4,000	316
Timber	149,000	83,000

Here we have no ground for concluding that real prosperity advanced with giant stride between 1825 and 1835. Bark is the exception mentioned. I do not suppress it, *a la* Martin, and let him put it, if he think proper, into his next budget. I will be further candid and say, that the falling off in the importation of brimstone was a circumstance, as far as that commodity is concerned, favourable to the country, for it arose, I believe, from the successful working of the native mines.

...himself to a ... building ... serves as a ... and I ... most ... in ... operative ... is ... may be ... looks ... reckoned. ... countries ... to ... memoirs ... show- ... is ... tonnage ... Dublin ... River- ... We ... tonnage ... nearly ... (p. 74) ... were ... that ... Irish ... London ... shipping, ... near. ... more ... in a ... Monastery. ... Bristol ... registered ... is of ... Irish ... he says ... country. ... is ... by 10 ... instead of ... it. ... times half ... and the ... I do not

profess to know all the details of our steam navigation at this moment. I would be glad to be informed of them; but I believe all the vessels set down as Irish have been built in England or Scotland—that they are only partly engaged in the Irish trade, and that they sail at stated times whatever may be their cargoes. This remarkable thing is to be said of tonnage, that the ships which entered the Irish ports in the last year were represented to be 18,000, while the ships which entered the British ports were only 35,000. Hence you would infer that Ireland had more than half the shipping transactions of Great Britain, though if you look to registry, we are to Great Britain as only 1 to 14, and if you look to building, we are only as 1 to 50 (hear, hear): But a more extraordinary thing still is, that though 18,000 vessels entered our ports last year, only 9,700 left them (hear, hear). What became of the other 8,300? Did they remain in our ports? Not at all; they came with coals, and they carried away gold, and mud from the river Liffey.”

The following are extracts from articles published by Mr. Staunton in his newspaper, on the same subject:—

“To remove cavil, however, on the one point, let (he says) attention be directed to the following table, in which quantities, instead of values, are expressed, and then let ANY HONEST MAN say whether the assertion be correct, that Ireland rapidly increased in prosperity during the few years that elapsed from 1782 to 1800, when ‘England produced the Union, because she was becoming jealous of the increasing prosperity of Ireland,’ because she could not tolerate the rapidly advancing prosperity of Ireland.”

“Next to this follows a table of fifteen columns, and the result is anticipated by a heading, in which it has declared, that ‘it shows a decrease on every item of exports.’ The items are the following:—

Wheat,	Rape,	Worsted yarn,
Barley,	Kelp,	Cows and oxen,
Meal,	Tallow,	Herrings,
Tongues,	Calf skins,	Drapery,
Wool,	Linen yarn,	Colonial merchandize.

“We now beg to apprise the reader, that we are about to expose a fraud—a downright, absolute, barefaced fraud—which we believe to be wholly unexplained. It is quite true, that under the ‘items’ selected, decrease is observable. But Mr. Martin’s ‘items’ do not contain the *whole* catalogue. They do not include even some of the principal articles. They do not comprise any of the following:—

Aqua Vite,	Hides,
Hams,	Hogs,
Bacon in Flitches,	Hog's Lard,
Beef,	Plain Linen,
Butter,	Coloured Linen,
Candles,	Linen and Cotton mixed,
Copper Ore,	Pork,
Oats,	Soap,
Feathers,	Flax Seed,
Glass,	

"Mr. Martin gave his readers *fifteen* columns of figures, but he omitted *nineteen*, these comprising some of the principal articles, such as the great staple commodity, *Linen*. In his list of exports he absolutely excludes even *LINEN*!!! Now, he cannot plead negligence, forgetfulness, or inability to find out all the commodities he might be disposed to take into his calculations. All the columns of articles were before him—the *nineteen* as well as the *fifteen*—and his process was simply that of skipping over every amount that would tell against his case! Is this pardonable in a writer who boasts of the statistical volumes he has given to the public—who carries in his satchell the testimonials of humbugged statesmen—whose lucubrations have been bestowed, by Ministers of State, upon inquiring politicians, such as Mr. John Augustus O'Neill, as fountains of useful information—and who now comes forth so 'seasonably' to 'convict the impostor,' and bolster up a Government prosecution?"

"*A decrease on every item of export.*" So proclaims Mr. Martin in the very heading of his fabricated tables. Now, what was the result on the *whole* of the transactions within the years to which he refers? He takes two periods of seven years each—one from 1785 to 1791, and the other from 1791 to 1798. The following will show the total produce of *all* exports within the time:—

First Period.		Second Period.	
1785	2,737,068	1792	5,321,299
1786	3,957,843	1793	4,995,406
1787	4,238,333	1794	4,639,301
1788	4,361,664	1795	4,704,732
1789	4,103,339	1796	5,013,283
1790	4,826,360	1797	4,533,593
1791	4,863,426	1798	4,316,592
<hr/>		<hr/>	
30,088,043		38,524,297	
		<hr/>	
		30,088,043	
		<hr/>	
Balance in favour of second period		3,436,254	

"Would the reader be prepared for any such result as this when he was first apprized of Mr. Martin's '*decrease on every item*'? No matter what fluctuations might have occurred in some articles, there was an *increase* on the whole, and it amounted to £3,436,000.

"There is no trick that a small ingenuity could devise that Mr. Martin has not employed in every instance to deceive his reader. The two periods referred to were most favourable for the ledger-deman as to '*decrease on every item*,' and, therefore, they were selected for that reason. Our worthy economist did not venture upon any comparison of *totals* in these periods, because they would show how every one of his items of *decrease* were counterbalanced very decidedly by amounts of increase. However, he thought he could not well omit *some* general table of exports; but instead of going back to 1785 for his figures, he commences at 1790. He should of right have taken 1782 in the first instance, (or rather an average of years preceding it,) as the starting point—but why not, in making out his *general* table, begin again at his favourite '85? We have searched for a motive, and have found it in the fact, that if he went back even to '85 he would lose some of his fifteen items of decrease. Instead of *fifteen* he would have only *eleven*. Taking, however, 1790 as a commencement, and comparing the next succeeding five years with the five years following them, (including one of *Rebellion*), he is able to give an item of *general* decrease. But his business was, not to contrast 1790 with 1799, but 1782 with 1800. This could best be done by a statement of the transactions of five years preceding both periods, and that, honestly made, let us see what case would be left to Mr. Montgomery Martin:—

Irish Exports in 5 years, ending 1782.		Irish Exports in 5 years, ending 1800.	
1778	3,325,681	1796	5,013,283
1779	2,702,043	1797	4,533,693
1780	3,003,251	1798	4,316,592
1781	2,880,430	1799	4,455,339
1782	3,375,692	1800	3,903,841
	16,186,997		22,222,748
			16,186,997
			£7,035,751

"So much for Mr. Martin's '*decrease on every item*.' We need not, again, point to the reader's notice how much the contrast is affected by the peculiar years included in the latter interval. One of them was a period of actual insurrection—three were years, at least, of inquietude. Between 1796 and 1800, the linen manufacture fell off from forty-six to thirty-five

millions of yards, and in the following year it fell off to 25 millions of yards. There was a great decrease, too, in the exportation of provisions, owing, amongst other causes, to the increased military consumption at home.

"In gross and detail Mr. Martin is a deluder. We shall give one or two specimens more, and dismiss him for the present day.

"We have seen what he has made of the illustrations derivable from exports. He next proceeds to articles of luxury imported, and to show that in them there was also a decrease, he gives tables relative to sugar, wine, and tobacco importations. These tables are the following :—

SUGAR.				Cwts.	
1789-1790-1791	...	...		617,893
1792-1793-1794	...	...		567,215
Decrease			...	50,678	
WINE.				Gals.	
1789-1790-1791	...	...		4,195,454
1796-1797-1798	...	...		3,069,606
Decrease			...	1,125,848	
TOBACCO.					
lbs.			lbs.		
1794	...	9,426,211	1798	...	4,894,121
1795	...	7,874,409	1799	...	5,876,172
Total	17,300,620		Total	10,770,293	

"The reader sees here another change in the selection of years under every head. Why was this? On looking over the items in a long column of amounts, Mr. Martin saw that there were fluctuations, and he took his *data* in each case from that part of the column which best answered his purposes. The reader will better understand this when we take a few quantities from the sugar table given in Mr. Spring Rice's Appendix to the Poor Report of 1830 :—

SUGAR ENTERED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

1789	...	...	...	191,748
1790	...	...	...	211,977
1791	...	...	...	214,168
1792	...	...	...	161,302
1793	...	...	...	196,371
1794	...	...	...	209,642
1795	...	...	...	227,978
1796	...	...	...	182,668
1797	...	...	...	231,233

1798	...	...	...	228,838
1799	...	...	...	263,603
1800	...	...	...	355,662

"The reader observes by a glance at this range of figures that if, in making his sugar contrast, Martin took any years but those which he adopted, the result would make against his conclusion. In wine, he took the years 1796-7-8, and for his tobacco table he brought in 1795. If he did the like in his sugar table, he could make no exhibition of his favourite deficit. Why did he not go to 1799 in sugar as well as in exports? Because up to 1799 *sugar importation was increasing*. If he contrasted his three first years with the years 1797-8-9, the following would be the result:—

			Cwts.
1789-1790-1791	...	...	617,193
1797-1798-1799	...	...	723,674

INCREASE in the last period 105,781

This is the secret of Montgomery Martin's variation in the selection of his years! He wished to show a decrease "on every item," at all hazards!

But if he had taken years indiscriminately within this narrow range, still he would be a deceiver. According to his own account, he is called upon to prove decrease, not in the years between 1789 and 1798, but between 1782 and 1800. Let us, under these three heads, make out a fair table, and see the result. We take our figures in two instances from Wakefield's comprehensive returns, because they enable us to go back to five years preceding 1782. We take our figures in the third from Mr. Rice's compilation, because Wakefield's quantities are in fums and not in gallons:—

				Cwts.
1778 to 1782	...	...	...	723,701
1796 to 1800	...	...	...	1,085,375
	INCREASE	...		361,674
				Gals.
1778 to 1782	...	...	...	5,454,882
1784 to 1788	...	...	...	6,662,604
	INCREASE	...		1,207,722
				lbs.
1778 to 1782	...	...	...	21,645,178
1796 to 1800	...	...	...	34,473,878
	INCREASE	...		12,828,700

" **MANUFACTURE OF PAPER.**—A two-penny increase in the manufacture of paper is adduced as a proof deserving of important consideration in an article of comparatively minor importance. Mr. Martin publishes a table including the years between 1833 and 1841, and he manages, as usual, to give an apparent view of increase far above a small reality. At the bottom of his figures we have the surplus of 3,819,529 lbs., though comparing 1833 to 1841 the actual excess was 1,533,766 lbs. This excess was not more than any single manufacturer, by a most limited indulgence even of a retail or shop-keeping spirit of enterprise, might have created. The whole duty on paper in Ireland, in 1841, was only 26,000*l.*, being about the *one-thirtieth* of the British duty: and it was not an amount of duty which exhibited an increase from 1833, as will be seen by the following table, compiled from the annual Finance Accounts—

1833	...	28,000	1838	...	£22,000
1834	...	28,000	1839	...	23,000
1835	...	33,500	1840	...	23,000
1836	...	33,000	1841	...	26,000
1837	...	22,000			

" Mr. Martin omits 1838 in his table for some good purpose, we suppose, though what it is we are unable to conjecture.

" **BUSHEL OF MALT.**—We have, in page 132, a true specimen of what we are warranted in designating as *Martinism*, by the barefaced and deliberate fraud which it has been the object of this work to perpetrate. A table is given of bushels of Malt charged with duty in Ireland, as compared with England and Scotland; and the intention is stated to be to show 'a comparison, as well as positive increase in the part of Ireland.' It is as follows—

Years	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.
1832	34,115,332	2,115,438	4,105,377
1833	32,244,802	1,971,168	3,757,242
1834	34,761,223	2,044,427	4,406,913
1835	34,172,553	2,112,128	4,437,220
1836	35,247,533	2,111,283	4,735,449
1837	35,657,577	2,268,473	4,751,594
1838	33,620,553	2,274,067	4,430,792
1839	33,587,302	2,177,744	4,567,053

Now, the figures in this table are taken from a parliamentary paper of 1840 (Sessional Number 435); and the better to ex-

pose the deliberate fraud which Mr. Martin has attempted to practise on the public in this case, we copy the entire of that document :—

YEARS ended 5th April.	Number of Bushels of Malt.		
	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.
1810	23,541,291	3,033,302	784,527
1811	25,579,328	2,437,859	968,100
1812	22,066,782	2,637,341	893,707
1813	18,945,766	2,159,326	658,657
1814	23,656,035	3,342,512	1,130,042
1815	26,349,263	3,025,066	1,319,472
1816	26,856,102	2,232,406	1,258,061
1817	17,820,324	1,680,219	1,142,539
1818	24,217,175	1,403,336	1,167,619
1819	22,325,607	1,879,082	1,442,613
1820	24,739,371	1,734,647	1,400,309
1821	26,084,730	1,869,758	1,225,883
1822	24,848,630	1,822,125	1,077,536
1823	27,312,755	1,811,490	1,429,188
1824	26,061,802	1,840,196	2,014,835
1825	27,887,092	2,279,188	2,784,477
1826	29,181,241	2,701,358	3,724,919
1827	25,342,913	2,142,530	2,490,067
1828	28,735,524	2,049,642	3,194,336
1829	28,217,126	2,266,226	3,713,490
1830	22,821,035	2,079,468	3,944,406
1831	29,079,758	1,892,082	4,089,127
1832	34,115,332	2,115,435	4,105,377
1833	32,249,892	1,970,058	3,767,242
1834	34,061,263	2,049,407	4,406,913
1835	34,072,665	2,152,138	4,437,220
1836	38,261,833	2,511,231	4,736,449
1837	35,657,887	2,268,475	4,751,594
1838	33,620,593	2,279,069	4,480,792
1839	33,687,302	2,101,744	4,567,083
1840	34,086,055	1,604,307	4,309,656

" We entreat the reader to examine the whole of this document attentively. He will see, in the first place, that in the column 'Ireland' the figures have fallen from 3,033,302^l. to 1,604,307^l., though Mr. Martin's allegation is, that there has been a 'comparative, as well as positive, increase.' He will observe, in the next place, that the years included in the whole

table, most favourable to Mr. Martin's case, are selected. He will observe this really atrocious fact, above all others, that though a return, including 1840, was before him, Mr. Martin stopped short at 1839, because, if he went on to the next year, there would have been a deficit to confront him. He began at 1832, when honesty had called on him to commence at 1810. Well, he went on to 1839; and why not to 1840? We shall set before the reader the three dates, the more effectually to fasten the fraud on the memory:—

1832	...	...	...	...	£2,115,435
1839	...	...	...	...	2,101,744
1840 (the year omitted)	...	...	...	...	1,604,307

"We will not say that the world never before heard of any case of political fraud equal to this, for we have already convicted Montgomery Martin of worse.

"**STAMP REVENUE.**—The increase in this revenue indicates, says Mr. Martin, 'extended commercial business.' He proceeds to show 'the increase on a few years.' Why not on *many* years, if he wished to deal fairly with the public? His '*few years*' come down to 1814. Why not to the latest period of official records, 1843? Because in 1814 he was able to quote a larger receipt than he could do, even under the date of 1843, *with the assistance of the new taxes*. The receipts in three years ending 1814, were the following, according to his table:—

1812	...	...	...	...	£613,000
1813	...	...	...	...	627,000
1814	...	...	...	...	668,000

"Now, in the three years ending 1843 the receipts were:—

1841	(gross produce)	£470,000
1842	...	462,003
1843	...	531,000

"**POSTAGE.**—This is next introduced as a criterion of progress. The years compared are 1830 and 1836. It is stated that in every *county* (excluding Dublin) there had been an *advance*.—Why exclude the metropolitan county? Because, says Mr. Martin, 'it is no test of *internal* communication!' What! has the centre of action no necessary communication with the extremities? The idea is preposterous, and it would have never entered into the stolid head even of Montgomery Martin, if he had not ascertained that there was on the *whole* Post-office transactions (with which alone we have a concern in this inquiry), a decrease.

Post-Office Revenue, 1830	...	£284,000
Ditto ditto 1836	...	276,000

“NEWSPAPERS—There is a boast as to newspapers, and it is specially mentioned that ‘Dublin, after London, is the only city in the United Kingdom that publishes a daily newspaper.’ There were some time ago four daily papers in Dublin: there are now only two. The newspaper duty of Ireland in the last year, with its 8,000,000 of inhabitants, was only a trifle above the Scotch duty, while the advertisement duty was materially less. The whole Irish duty was not much more than the *one-eleventh* of the British duty, though it ought to have been the *one-third*.

“INSURANCES—Mr. Martin gave a statement to show the increase of fire insurances on farming stock in Ireland. Formerly there might have been (and there was) a culpable indifference to precautions of this character; latterly they might have been rendered more necessary by the increased insecurity of property arising from the increased destitution of the people. However, Mr. Martin gives increased fire insurances on farming stock as another test of the *prodigious* advancement of the country.

“PRESENTMENTS—In this respect he is still more comical. He shows the county cess has increased from 874,000*l.* to 1,116,000*l.* in thirteen years; but his consoling commentary is, that it ‘shows no impoverishment.’ Increased charges for Gaols, Infirmaries, Lunatic Asylums, Dispensaries, Constabulary, but ‘no impoverishment!’”

We owe some apology to the able, indefatigable, and patriotic gentleman who has put together those facts, for anticipating the revised publication of them, which he has undertaken at the request of the Repeal Association. But we felt that, consistent with the objects of our compilation, we could not omit such most valuable matter; and heartily recommend to every one to provide themselves with it, in the greatly enlarged and improved state in which Mr. Staunton is about to re-produce it.

The Report of the “Commissioners of Enquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, &c., &c.” (1822,) cannot be read by an Irishman without feelings of melancholy. Although the Union, with all its drains from this country, had then been twenty-one years in operation, the effects of the impetus Irish enterprise had received during the eighteen years of her free parliament, had not entirely passed away; and manufactures still remained, (though in a sickly state,) several of which have since totally departed from Ireland. The cotton manufacture was yet in a state to bear competition in some points with England, upon equal terms—woollen, silk, glass, cabinet-ware—the making of carriages, of hats, &c., &c., were all active businesses, and declared capable of much immediate prosperity, in the event of the recommendations of the commis-

sioners being carried into effect. Those recommendations went to abolish the "protecting duties" left by the Union; which was accordingly done by the British Parliament—the advantage being at any rate *certain* to England herself, as the duties in question operated against her commodities under the above heads.

The result may be taken from the Reports of the Railway and Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissions of enquiry, 1838—1840:

"The only town in Ireland in which the cotton manufacture is established to any extent, is Belfast; and it is represented as declining even there. With regard to the woollen trade a considerable diminution appears to have taken place since 1822..... Mr. W. Willans of Dublin, the most extensive woollen manufacturer in Ireland, states that then there were forty-five manufacturers in and about Dublin; and the value of the cloth annually produced by them would, at the present prices, be £200,000. The value now manufactured may be about £90,000. The manufacture has also declined in Cork, Kilkenny, Moate, Carrick-on-Suir: the value produced now in those districts being supposed not to amount to £20,000. The flannel trade of Wicklow and Wexford may now be considered as extinct..... Mr. Willans calculates that the consumption of woollens in Ireland does not exceed in annual value £1,400,000, being about 3s. 3d. per head on the population; whereas the total consumption of England cannot be less in value than from £18,000,000 to £20,000,000, which would amount to 20s. per head."—*Railway Report, Ireland.*

"The silk trade is now confined to one fabric—the tabinet. There can be no doubt the trade in weaving whole silk is extinct, and that the manufactures of velvets, handkerchiefs, and ribbons, are reduced to a few looms."—*Mr. O'Keay's Report, Hand-Loom Enquiry.*

Mr. Muggeridge (also of the hand-loom enquiry) corroborates what is given above respecting the cotton trade; and one of his principal witnesses, Mr. Moncrief of Belfast, made the significant remark, that "if all the capital of *all* the manufacturers in Belfast was combined, it would not equal that employed by one large establishment in England."

Even the linen-manufacture is not shown to be flourishing by the reports we have quoted; although it is well known that ingenuity was tasked to the utmost in their compilation to infer "post-union" prosperity—*post-hoc, propter hoc*—in Ireland. Mr. Commissioner Muggeridge declares his inability, "in common with all who have attempted the enquiry" before him, to say whether it is flourishing or not—and he states that opinions are divided on the subject in the north itself.

The very controversy which exists as to the state of that trade is an unfavourable sign. When a branch of industry is really flourishing in any country, do we usually find, even among those at a distance from a scene of action, doubts and disputes existing on the subject? Yet they are to be found rife among *persons intimately conversant* with the linen trade in the North, as will be seen by the following extracts:—

“Mr. William Kirk, a member of the linen committee of the county Armagh, says—‘*I think the linen trade is increasing.*’

“Mr. William Miller, a member of the linen committee of the county of Antrim, states—‘There has been an increase in the linen trade of Ballymena within the last seven years, but nevertheless there has been, generally speaking, a decrease in the linen trade of Ireland during the same period.’

“Mr. Edward Sproule, a member of the County Tyrone Committee, states—‘That the linen trade of Ulster is not so extensive as it was twenty years ago.’

“Mr. John Walker, of Magherafelt, writes—‘*I am of opinion the linen trade of Ireland is increasing in quantity, though the last two years make an exception.*’

“Messrs. William Orr and Sons, linen manufacturers at Loughgall, County Armagh, writes—‘We consider it decreasing in many particulars, and that the Scotch are taking a great deal of it from us.’—*Mr. Muggeridge’s Report, Hand Loom Weavers’ Inquiry.*

The annual Report of the Directors of the Provincial Bank of Ireland, contained last year a passage to the effect, that “the linen manufacture of the North could not be said to be flourishing.”

A large proportion of the export at present consists of *yarn*, instead of being all of the fully manufactured article, as it ought to be, were the trade really at the high pitch of prosperity which the advocates of the Union would pretend.

The principal manufactures of Ireland being in this condition, it is unnecessary to go into details as to minor articles. The glass manufacture is notoriously perishing, if not altogether gone. The Commission of 1822, reported ten large glass-houses in activity. The 20th Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, shewed that the number had fallen to six, and since then it has been further reduced one-half. The hat manufacture, &c., &c., have similarly gone down.

The tradesmen of Dublin have, from time to time, put forward statistics of painful interest, connected with the condition of their various trades in 1800 and since. In 1834 they did so to a considerable extent, but still more fully in the last three years. A statement of theirs in the year 1841. has the following:—

WOOLLEN TRADE IN DUBLIN.

Master Manufacturers in 1800,	..	..	...	91
Do. in 1840,	...	...	...	12
Number of hands employed in 1800,	...	...	...	4938
Do. in 1840,	..	...	...	682

WOOL COMBING.

Master wool combers in 1800,	..	..	...	30
Do. in 1834,	...	...	...	5
Number of hands employed in 1800	...	...	...	230
Do. in 1834,	...	...	...	66

CARPET MANUFACTURE IN DUBLIN.

Master manufacturers in 1800,	...	...	...	13
Do. in 1841,	...	...	...	1
Number of hands employed in 1800,	...	...	...	720
Do. in 1841, only the men employed by Mr. Sheridan.				

BLANKETS.

Blanket manufacturers in Kilkenny, in the year 1800,				56
Do. in 1822,	...	...	...	12
Operatives employed in 1800,	...	..	...	3000
Do. in 1841,	...	...	...	924

RATTEENS AND FRIEZES.

Number of persons supported by the woollen manufac- ture at Roscrea in the year 1800,	...	...	...	900
In the year 1841 not one comber permanently employed.				
Persons deriving employment and maintenance from the cotton manufacture at Belfast, and within ten miles round it, in the year 1800,	...	...	...	27,000
Do in 1839,	...	...	...	12,000 to 15,000
whose wages were miserably reduced, almost to the standard of a day labourer.				
Number of calico looms at full work at Balbriggan in 1799,	...	...	...	2000
Do in 1841,	...	...	...	226

SILK MANUFACTURE IN DUBLIN.

Number of broad looms in 1800,	...	...	...	2500
Do. in 1840,	...	..	...	250

HOSIERY.

In Dublin the number of hosiery frames was, in 1800,	329
Do. in 1840,	80
In Cork the number of hosiery frames was 1800	200
Do. in 1840, say	12
The hosiery trade has become almost extinct at Belfast, Lisburn, Clonmel, Limerick, Waterford, Carrick, Kilkenny, Carlow, Portarlington, Maryborough, Newry, Dundalk, Armagh, and Drogheda.	

STUFF SERGE IN DUBLIN.

Master manufacturers in 1800,	25
Do. in 1841,	1
Number of hands employed in 1800,	1491
Do in 1834,	131

FLANNEL MANUFACTURE.

Looms at work in the County Wicklow in the year 1800,	1000
Do. in 1841,	0!

N.B.—The County Wicklow was the principal seat of this trade.

When to all these statements, (which, if space and time permitted, we could easily increase in number, and equal in force,) we add the accumulated evidence and declarations, by individual writers and royal commissioners, parliamentary committees and speakers, as to the appalling destitution of *one half* of the population of Ireland, the assertion of "*giant-stride prosperity since the Union*" becomes a cruel insult! The assertion of *any* general prosperity is scarcely better. And where any particular interest can be shewn to have thriven to any degree of importance, such a result can in no way be rightfully ascribed to the operation of the Union, until it be first shewn that the same would not have occurred, had the Irish parliament been still in existence.

JOHN O'CONNELL.

APPENDIX, No. 5.

“ M E A N S

BY WHICH

THE UNION WAS CARRIED.”

ON this subject we copy the following Report of the Committee of the National Association of Ireland, on the means by which the Union was carried.—(*First Series of Repeal Reports*, 1840) :—

Your committee deem it necessary to make a short preliminary statement with regard to the state of Ireland *under her own Parliament*.

The centuries of misrule and oppression—the shackles and restrictions which were laid upon Irish trade and commerce—and the baleful spirit of national antipathy and sordid tyranny, by which the English government had conducted the affairs of Ireland, produced their natural consequences in Ireland. The gentry were embarrassed or loaded with debts—their income small, their incumbrances great—domestic manufactures were crushed by direct violence on the part of the British government, and the extreme of misery pervaded all the labouring and poorer classes of the population.

Such was the state of Ireland, when the successful insurrection of the American colonies seemed to rouse her from the torpor produced by the faithless tyranny of our British rulers.

We call that tyranny faithless, because it was exercised in *direct violation of the Treaty of Limerick*—that treaty was a

solemn compact made between the Irish people in arms, and the King of England, William the Third, theretofore unrecognized by the Irish people.

Upon the faith of that treaty, the Irish nation submitted to King William—they laid down their arms, relying upon British integrity; and in return for the constitutional rights which they stipulated for, they gave to the British crown the peaceable possession of this beautiful island, the fairest and most fertile portion of the European states. They received, in recompense, the plighted faith and honour of the British government, for the security and stability of the liberty of the Irish people.

Never was there more full value given for any stipulation or compact, than that given by the Irish army and people, to the British crown, on that occasion—but never, alas! was public faith and honour so basely, so vilely, so outrageously, so degradingly violated, as the British faith and honour were to the Irish people!

This is part of history, and remains as a record of the most dishonouring infamy to the British name and nation.

For near a century the hideous and sanguinary laws by which the treaty of Limerick was violated, filled Ireland with woe, with misery, with confiscation, with insecurity, with squalid wretchedness.

At length in 1778, Ireland roused herself from her death slumber. The repeal of the penal laws against the Catholics commenced, and the distress and danger in which England was involved by her contest with the American colonists, aided as they were by France and other continental powers, enabled the Irish people to extort for Ireland a FREE TRADE to all parts of the world, in spite of the desperate opposition of the British government.

Came the glorious era of 1782!—Ireland, in her strength and her virtue, asserted her Legislative Independence, and took her place for the first time amongst the nations of the earth.

Prosperity unexampled in the annals of modern or ancient history followed her independence—prosperity, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial.—No nation in Europe ever made such progress in so short a time as Ireland did, under the fostering care of her own legislature, from the time of her legislative independence in 1782, until she felt the effects of the measures taken to produce the legislative Union.

We think it would be impossible to deny, that this prosperity was viewed with a jealous eye by the English people and government. They were expressly charged with this jealousy by the opponents of the Union, and in particular by BUSH,

the late Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, who expressly stated, that "THE UNION WAS THE DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS OF NATURE TO A GREAT NATION, FROM AN INTOLERANCE OF HER PROSPERITY."

So early as 1794, the project of the Union was broached, and apparently matured by the PITT cabinet—we have this distinctly stated in the public documents of the day. It was PITT's wish to carry the Union in a conciliatory manner, and Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over to Ireland shortly after, for that purpose.

Unhappily the truculent BERESFORD PARTY prevailed over the milder counsels of Pitt, and it was determined to effect the Union in a manner which should lay Ireland completely at the feet of England, and enable the British government to dictate its own terms.

The opportunity to carry out this iniquitous project was soon attained; the spirit of republicanism engendered by the French revolution, spread through the nations of Europe. In Ireland it met a congenial soil, prepared by the grievances and oppressions of the British government—but the outrages against religion, and the attacks upon Christianity itself, of the French Jacobinical leaders, disgusted the Catholic people of Ireland, and naturally and justly terrified the Catholic clergy; and thus a great check was given to the spread of revolutionary doctrines amongst the Catholic mass of the population.

It was otherwise amongst the Presbyterians of Ulster—they had a natural tendency to republicanism, and they shewed themselves active partizans of their favourite doctrine. They framed and extended a treasonable system of organization—first, civil—and then assuming a military form, in secrecy, and with as much concealment of their real designs and internal organization, as they could possibly assume. They might have been more formidable, but that an anti-Catholic antipathy prevented them from cordially uniting with the Catholic population, and thereby prevented their becoming as powerful as they otherwise might have been.

Such was the state of Ireland at the time it was determined to carry the Union.

The means used were these—First—THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY FURY WAS ENCOURAGED!—THE REBELLIOUS DISPOSITION WAS ACTUALLY FOSTERED, UNTIL IT WAS MADE TO EXPLODE!! AND BITTER RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS WERE PROMOTED AMONGST ALL CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE!!!

For the truth of these allegations there are abundant proofs—they are to be found in the recollections of hundreds and thousands of us who remember these things which we sorrow-

fully witnessed—they are to be found in all the debates on the Union—in the accusations and appeals of the opponents to that measure—in the admissions and boastings of its advocates. But the most powerful evidence of the entire, is the Report of the Irish House of Lords, printed in the latter end of the year 1798.

By that report it appears that the revolutionary spirit and military organization of the United Irishmen commenced in Ulster—the focus was in the town of Belfast—it spread through the greatest number of the Protestants and Presbyterians, especially the latter, of that province. The superior officers had all their meetings in Ulster—amongst others the colonels met monthly, and gave in their reports of the strength and state of discipline of their various regiments—privacy was observed, of course, as much as possible—but ONE OF THE COLONELS WAS A SPY IN THE PAY OF THE TREASURY, and he regularly, after each meeting of colonels, made a report to the government of all their proceedings.

The Irish government could therefore at once have seized the entire staff of the rebellion—they could stay its progress, and crush its hopes, by arresting at once all its leaders—but *they allowed it to run on and augment for about eleven months, without interruption.*

All this appears from the Report of the House of Lords, above alluded to.

Why did the government allow the organizations to go on, and the colonels to continue their meetings for ten or eleven months without interruption? The answer is obvious—the government had an *ulterior object* in view, to attain which they thought any sacrifice of blood cheap—that object was—the UNION!!!

It is true, they speculated too dangerously—the like experiment will never be made again; they imagined that between the armed force which they then commanded, and the powerful auxiliary of the bigotry of the Northern rebels, they could easily suppress the rebellion, when it became just ripe enough to frighten the country into the Union.

But they almost fatally miscalculated. *Wexford*, without any previous organization, *was driven into rebellion* by the ferocity of an unhappy nobleman, Lord Kingsborough, and of his regiment of militia; and if any one other county had been roused to an exertion similar to that made by the men of *Wexford*, the rebellion would have been a revolution, and the intended *Union would have been exchanged for an actual and perpetual separation.*

Even the unforeseen excess to which the rebellion extended, was converted by the Unionists into further means for carrying

the Union. The alarm and dismay became greater—the confusion more complete—the rancour of party spirit more virulent—Irishmen were rendered more incompetent to protect themselves—and thus their inherent rights were spoliated with malignant satisfaction and perfect facility.

On this subject also the powerful eloquence of PLUNKET was heard to denounce the crime, and to call for vengeance on the criminals. He accused the GOVERNMENT—we use his own words—“*of fomenting the embers of a lingering Rebellion—of hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic, and the Catholic against the Protestant—of artfully keeping alive domestic dissensions*, for the purposes of subjugation,” in other words, carrying the UNION.

Secondly,—The second means for carrying the Union were—“THE DEPRIVATION OF ALL LEGAL PROTECTION TO LIBERTY OR LIFE—THE FAMILIAR USE OF TORTURE—THE TRIALS BY COURTS-MARTIAL—THE FORCIBLE SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE TOTAL STIFLING OF PUBLIC OPINION—AND THE USE OF ARMED VIOLENCE.”

All the time the Union was under discussion, the HABEAS CORPUS ACT was SUSPENDED—no man could call one hour’s liberty his own.

All the time the Union was under discussion, COURTS-MARTIAL had unlimited power over life and limb. Bound by no definite form or charge, nor by any rule of evidence, the COURTS-MARTIAL threatened with DEATH those who should dare to resist the spoliation of their Birth-Rights.

There was no redress for the most cruel and tyrannical imprisonment. *The persons of the King’s Irish subjects were at the caprice of the King’s ministers. The lives of the King’s Irish subjects were at the sport and whim of the boys, young and old, of the motley corps of English militia, Welsh mountaineers, Scotch fencibles, and Irish yeomanry. At such a moment as that, when the jails were crammed with unaccused victims, and the scaffolds were reeking with the blood of untried wretches—at such a moment as that, was it, that the British minister committed this act of SPOILIATION and ROBBERY, which enriched England but little, and made Ireland poor indeed.*

Besides the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the consequent insecurity to personal liberty—besides the existence of courts-martial, and the consequent insecurity of human life—besides all these, actual force was used—meetings of counties, duly convened to deliberate on the measure, were dispersed by military force. It was not at Maryborough or Clonmel alone, that the military were called out, horse, foot, and artillery, to scatter—and they did scatter—meetings convened by the legal

authorities, to expostulate, to petition against the Union. Force was a peculiar instrument to suppress all constitutional opposition.

Why should we dwell longer on this part of the subject, when in a single paragraph we have, in eloquent language, a masterly description, which easily supersedes any attempt of ours? Here are the words of PLUNKET, "*I will be bold to say, that licentious and impious France, in all the unrestrained excesses that anarchy and atheism have given birth to, has not committed a more insidious act against her enemy, than is now attempted by the professed champion of civilized Europe, against Ireland—a friend and ally—even in the hour of her calamity and distress. At a moment when our country is filled with British troops—whilst the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended—whilst trials by courts-martial are carrying on in many parts of the kingdom—while the people are made to believe that they have no right to meet and to deliberate—and whilst the people are palsied by their fears—at the moment when we are distracted by internal dissensions—dissensions kept alive as the pretext of our subjugation, and the instrument of our future thralldom!!!—Such is the time in which the Union is proposed.*"

Thirdly—THE UNION WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE MOST OPEN, BASE, AND PROFLIGATE CORRUPTION THAT EVER YET STAINED THE ANNALS OF ANY COUNTRY.

The leading feature, after all, in the Union was, the daring profligacy of the corruption by which it was carried. It was reduced into a regular system. It was avowed in the House! It was acted on every where. The minister set about purchasing votes—he opened office with full hands. The PEERAGE was part of his stock in trade, and he made some two scores of peers in exchange for UNION VOTES! The EPISCOPAL BENCH was brought into market, and ten or twelve bishopricks were trucked for UNION VOTES!! "The BENCH OF JUSTICE" became a commodity, and a chief justice, and eight puisne judges and barons, ascended the bench, as the price of VOTES for the UNION!!! It would extend beyond our calculation to make out a list of the generals, and admirals, and colonels, and navy captains, and other naval and military promotions, which rewarded personal or kindred VOTES for the UNION.

The REVENUE departments have long too been the notorious merchandize of corruption. It is not surprising, therefore, that the board of excise and customs, either conjointly or separately, and the multifarious other fiscal offices, especially the legal offices, were filled to suffocation, as the rewards of UNION VOTES.

The price of a single vote was familiarly known—it was

8000*l.* in money, or a civil or military appointment to the value of 2000*l.* per annum. They were simpletons who only took one of the three, the dexterous always managed to get at least two out of three; and it would not be difficult, perhaps, to mention the names of twelve, or even a score of members, who contrived to obtain the entire three—the 8000*l.*, the civil appointment, and the military appointment.

LORD CASTLEREAGH actually declared in the House of Commons, that he would carry the Union, though it might cost more than half-a-million in mere bribes. His words, as reported by GRATTAN, were, “*Half a million or more were expended some years ago to break an opposition—the same, or a greater sum, may be necessary now.*” Such was the open, the unblushing, the impudent effrontery of Lord Castlereagh;—Grattan added, he (Lord Castlereagh) “*had said so in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption.*” The threat was proceeded on, the peerage sold, the caittiffs of corruption were every where—in the lobby—in the street—on the steps—and at the doors of every parliamentary leader—offering title to some, offices to others, corruption to all.”

The present Lord Chief Justice BUSHE was more vehement in his exposure of the atrocious means used to carry the Union. He stated “*That the basest corruption and artifice were exerted to promote it; that all the worst passions of the human heart were entered into the service—and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human intellect was tortured to devise new contrivances of fraud.*”

Such were the means by which the Union was carried. It was not a compact—it was not a bargain—it was the government, in the words of LORD PLUNKET, availing itself of the calamity and distress of Ireland, in a manner *worse* than impious and licentious France would have done, to her bitterest enemy.

And yet, with all these resources of intimidation and corruption, the Union was DEFEATED in the first session in which it was brought forward; and it was proved then to be impossible to bribe a sufficient number of the members of the Irish House of Commons to vote away the independence of their country.

Another plan was therefore adopted, after the defeat of the measure in 1799;—some thirty or forty of the Irish members, who could not be induced to sell their VOTES, made a species of compromise, by selling their *seats* to the government, and thus retired from parliament. The government thereupon filled those seats with Scotch and English officers, having no connection whatever with Ireland beyond their casual residence there with their regiments, and who having filled the seats so vacated, formed the *actual majority by whom the Union was carried.*

Besides all this, it is perfectly clear that the Irish parliament had no right whatsoever to vote away their country's independence.

The King could not attach the allegiance of the Irish people to any foreign crown; to France, for example, or even to Hanover; and the Irish parliament had still less right to swamp the Irish constituencies and Irish representatives by Scotch or English constituencies or representatives.

These opinions are not merely theoretical: and they rest upon much higher authority than that of your committee. They are the language, and the distinctly pronounced judgment, of the most eminent men in the legal profession in Ireland. SAURIN, who was afterwards for more than twenty years attorney-general in Ireland, declared that the House of Commons had no authority to pass the Act of Union. His words were "*You may make the Union binding as a law, BUT YOU CANNOT MAKE IT OBLIGATORY ON CONSCIENCE. It will be obeyed as long as England is strong: BUT RESISTANCE TO IT WILL BE IN THE ABSTRACT A DUTY: and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence.*"

Such was the language of SAURIN, which he never denied, retracted, or qualified: on the contrary, he unequivocally pronounced the struggle to get rid of the Union, to be in the abstract "*A DUTY.*"

Let it be remembered, that the man who preached this doctrine was afterwards offered, and refused, the office of Lord Chief Justice of Ireland: and was actually the attorney-general in Ireland for about twenty years; enjoying more of the confidence of the British government, than any other law officer ever did or ever will. He it was that declared the Union not to be obligatory on conscience; but, on the contrary, the resistance to it to be *A DUTY.*

Another more eminent lawyer still—one who has been since appointed to the office of Master of the Rolls in England, then elevated to the peerage, then made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland; then made (and he now is) Lord High Chancellor of Ireland—LORD PLUNKET. This greatest of constitutional lawyers, has left on imperishable record, his sentiments as to the legal effect of the Act of Union. Here is the solemn legal judgment of LORD PLUNKET on the competency of Parliament to pass the Act of Union:

"*I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of Parliament to do this Act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands upon the constitution. I tell you, if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I MAKE THIS ASSERTION DELIBERATELY. I repeat it, and call on any man who hears me, to take down my words. You*

have not been elected for this purpose—you have been appointed to make laws, not legislatures. You are appointed to act under the constitution, not to destroy it. You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, and not to transfer them; and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the government; you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you."

After some pointed illustrations of the practical truth of this constitutional doctrine, this eminent lawyer went on to address the Irish House of Commons, thus:—"Yourselfs you may extinguish, but parliament you cannot extinguish! It is enshrined in the hearts of the people—it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitution—it is immortal as the island it protects. As well might the frantic maniac hope that the act which destroys his miserable body, should extinguish his eternal soul. Again I therefore warn you, do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution; it is above your power."

Such were the means by which the Union was carried, and such was the inherent radical effect, in point of law and of conscience, in that measure. It is right to see how this inherent vice in the creation of the Union—how the bad spirit in which it was proposed and carried, was exhibited by another eminent lawyer. We shall call on the public to listen to the opinion of Lord Chief Justice BUSHÉ upon that subject—this is his language:

"I see nothing in it (the Union) but one question—will you give up the country? I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which the Union has been promoted: and I look on it simply as England reclaiming in a moment of our weakness, that dominion which we extorted from her in a moment of our virtue; a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably oppressed and impoverished us, and from the abolition of which we date all our prosperity."

He adds—

"The Union is a measure which goes to degrade the country, by saying it is unworthy to govern itself. It is the revival of the odious and absurd title of conquest. It is a renewal of the abominable distinction between mother country and colony, which lost America."

"It is the denial of the rights of nature to a great nation, from an intolerance of its prosperity."

With this quotation we close our Report, hoping that the language of these eminent lawyers will sink deep into the recollection of the country.

The people of Ireland can, within the compass of this Report, behold the means by which the Union was carried; they

can see the inherent defects in that measure; and if they have the VIRTUE their forefathers possessed, they will, by obeying the dictates of duty, restore to a great nation the rights of nature; of which she has been deprived from the basest of all motives—an intolerance of her prosperity.

DANIEL O'CONNELL,

April 30th, 1840.

Chairman of the Committee.

We conclude with two extracts from speeches of LOREN GREY on the same subject. They were made in the British parliament in the year 1800:—

“ If the parliament of Ireland was left to itself untempted, unawed, unintimidated, it would, without hesitation, have rejected the resolutions. There are 300 members in all, and 120 of these strenuously opposed the measure, amongst whom were two-thirds of the county members, the representatives of the city of Dublin, and almost all the towns which it is proposed shall send members to the imperial parliament; 162 voted in favour of the Union; of those 116 were placemen, some of whom were English generals on the staff, without a foot of ground in Ireland, and completely dependent upon government. Let us reflect upon the acts which have been used since last sessions of the Irish parliament to pack a majority in the House of Commons. All persons holding offices under government, even the most intimate friends of the minister, if they hesitated to vote as directed, were stript of all their employments. Even this step was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourse to, which, though I cannot name in this place, all will easily conjecture. A bill framed for preserving the purity of parliament was likewise abused, and no less than sixty-three seats were vacated by their holders having received nominal offices”

“ Twenty-seven counties have petitioned against the measure (the Union). The petition from the county of Down is signed by upwards of 17,000 respectable independent men, and all the others are in a similar proportion. Dublin petitioned under the great seal of the city, and each of the corporations in it followed the example. Drogheda petitioned against the Union, and almost every other town in the kingdom in like manner testified its disapprobation. Those in favour of the measure, possessing great influence in the country, obtained a few counter-petitions; yet, though the petition from the county Down was signed by 17,000, the counter-petition was signed

only by 415. Though there were 707,000 who had signed petitions against the measure, the total number of those who declared themselves in favour of it did not exceed 3,000, and many even of these only prayed that the measure might be discussed. If the facts I state are true—and I challenge any man to falsify them—could a nation in more direct terms express its disapprobation of a political measure, than Ireland has of a Legislative Union with Great Britain? In fact, the nation is nearly unanimous, and this great majority is composed not of fanatics, bigots, or Jacobins, but of the most respectable of every class in the community.”

APPENDIX

1771

The following is a list of the subjects of the National Register of Historic Places, as of December 31st, 1971.

Part I — National Historic Landmarks
The following is a list of the National Historic Landmarks, as of December 31st, 1971.
1. The White House, Washington, D.C.
2. The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.
3. The Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee and North Carolina.
4. The Statue of Liberty, New York City, New York.
5. The Ellipse, Washington, D.C.
6. The Gateway Arch, St. Louis, Missouri.
7. The USS Intrepid, New York City, New York.
8. The Wright Brothers National Memorial, Dayton, Ohio.
9. The National Mall, Washington, D.C.
10. The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX, No. 6.

THE

“TAXATION INJUSTICE.”

THE following Petition to the Imperial Parliament, on the subject of the grievous and unjust Taxation of Ireland since the Union, was unanimously adopted by the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland, on Monday, the 31st December, 1842 :—

- Par.* 1.—“That by the Act of legislative Union, Ireland was protected from any liability on account of the national debt of Great Britain previously contracted, and also from the raising of her taxation to the high standard then existing in Great Britain, until the occurrence of the following contingencies :—
- 2.—“First—that partly by the decrease of the said previous British debt, and partly by the increase of the Irish debt, the two debts should come to bear to each other in the proportion of two to fifteen ; *i. e.* two parts for Ireland to fifteen parts for Great Britain.
- 3.—“Second—that the respective circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation.
- 4.—“Your Petitioners complain that the first contingency was most unjustly held by the Imperial Parliament to have been
- Petition of the Repeal Association against this injustice.

attained in 1816, when the said proportion of the two debts had been arrived at solely by the enormous increase of the Irish debt, and by no decrease of the British.

- 5.—“They further complain, that the second contingency was not taken into consideration at all, and, according to the confessions of the British ministry themselves, could not have existed; as the measure of subjecting Ireland to all the liabilities and taxation of Great Britain, was introduced with the strongest declarations of the poverty and approaching insolvency of the former country.
- 6.—“That that measure—namely, the 56 George III. cap. 98, commonly called the Consolidation Act—was introduced under the strange pretext of relieving her from the theretofore excessive and exhausting demands upon her; but that while it nominally did so, it in reality utterly swept away and destroyed all species of protection, which she had hitherto possessed, from a further and monstrous increase of these demands; and that in consequence of it, she has, upon an average of twenty-six years since the passing of that pretended act of relief, been made to pay more in proportion than she did before; and in addition, was by it, and still remains, mortgaged in every shilling and every acre for the whole of the enormous debt of Great Britain, as well that contracted since, as that contracted before the Union.
- 7.—“That these injustices have not been compensated for in any way, but have been aggravated by what has been done in the way of relief of taxation since the Union—the relief accorded to Great Britain having been more than eighteen times the relief accorded to Ireland.
- 8.—“That of the taxes imposed since the Union, the share of Ireland has been so high as one-eighth.
- 9.—“That Ireland is, on all hands, confessed to be a most impoverished country—that the absentee rents drain from her between three and four millions of money—that her own manufactures having nearly all perished, some millions more go away to purchase British manufactures;—that further exhausting drains are occasioned by the sending away of her surplus revenue to England, to be there applied in paying the interest of the British debt—the sums that she pays in British ports on foreign articles, which she has ceased to import direct—and even by, what in her anomalous condition is a loss to her, the consolidation in England of government offices, and the consequent removal from her of public establishments, the expenditure on account of which, was an object, in her reduced and impoverished condition,
- 10.—“That your Petitioners are ready to prove these statements at the bar of your Honorable House, or before a Com-

mittee, if you should please to institute an enquiry into their truth.

That under all these circumstances your Petitioners submit, that Ireland is entitled to an immediate and extensive reduction of taxation; and therefore

Your Petitioners humbly pray, that your honorable House will take steps to alter the financial arrangements between the two countries, in such a manner as shall relieve Ireland from the unjust and intolerable burthen of taxation to which she is at present subjected, and will grant such further and other relief as to your wisdom shall seem fit. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c., &c."

There is one oversight in the foregoing. There were in effect *three* contingencies expressed in the Act of Union, on the occurrence of which Ireland was to be made subject to all the liabilities and burthens of Great Britain. The first should rightly have been stated as in the event of liquidation of the two debts—a contingency however, that so far at least as England was concerned, was not for a moment considered within the bounds of probability. With this exception, the petition before given embodies the chief features of our case.

At the end of the Appendices, the Act of Union is given at full length; and the reader can satisfy himself as to the accuracy of the statements of the petition. The clauses referred to are the 2nd and 7th of the seventh article of the Act of Union.

The undeniably just grounds for the temporary protection, stated in the 1st paragraph of the Petition, to have been given to Ireland at the Union, will be best gathered from the speech of Lord Castlereagh, 5th February, 1800:

In respect to *past* expenses, Ireland was to have no concern whatever with the debt of Great Britain; but the two countries were to unite as to future expenses, on a *strict measure of relative ability*. He should have considered it a most valuable circumstance in this arrangement, if the countries could have been so completely incorporated as not to have had distinct revenues—a part of the system of the Scotch Union, which had been felt

Lord Castlereagh's exposition of the terms of the Union.

to be of such importance, that a great effort was made to equalize the circumstances of the two countries for that purpose.—England had a large debt—Scotland had none charged upon her revenues—an accurate calculation was made of the sum to be paid to Scotland, to justify her in accepting her share of the debt, and the sum was paid accordingly by England. The taxation of the two countries was accordingly fixed at the same scale, except in the article of land tax: which was fixed at a different ratio, because the land tax in England was imposed so unequally, that had Scotland paid in the same rate as the nominal land tax of England, she would really have been taxed much higher than her just proportion. He mentioned this to shew the pains taken to incorporate the two countries; and lamented that the two circumstances of Great Britain and Ireland did not at present enable the measure of identity to be pursued with equal strictness.....Such however was the disproportion of the debts of the two kingdoms, that a common system was then impossible—nor could any system of *equivalent*, as in the case of Scotland, be applied for equalizing their contributions. (It was therefore necessary that the debts of the two kingdoms should be kept distinct; and that, of course, their taxation should be separate and proportionate.)—*Speech of Lord Castlereagh, as printed in pamphlet form by J. Bea, 57, Exchange-street, Dublin, 1800.*

The disproportion of the two debts was thus stated by him, a little later in the same speech:—

His statement of the debt-charges, 1800.

“The charges of the debt of Great Britain amount to £20,000,000 a-year; and the charges of the debt of Ireland to £1,300,000 British, a-year.”

This statement, however, included the redeemed debt, and sinking fund charges; the amount on account of which should be deducted, in order to get at the real liabilities.

A parliamentary paper of 1819 (sessional number 35) gives the following accounts for the two countries, as they really stood about the time he was speaking:—

GREAT BRITAIN, February, 1800.

Amended statement.

Funded Debt unredeemed.	Charge of same.	Unfunded Debt.	Charge of do.
£401,610,161	£15,451,684	£22,909,182	£1,119,886
Total Debt of both kinds		£424,519,343	
Total Charge		£16,571,570	

IRELAND.			
Funded Debt secured	Charge.	Unfunded Debt.	Charge.
£21,757,385	£959,698	£1,343,400	£69,573
Total Debt of both kinds,		£23,100,784	
Total Charge,		£1,029,271	

Scotland had no debt at the time of the Union, and the English debt at that time was something more than £20,500,000. For taking on herself a liability to this, Scotland got the sum of £398,085, under the denomination of an "equivalent." This sum was more than six times the amount of her whole customs and excise revenue at the period, viz., the year 1706, and bore the proportion of 1 to 50 to the above stated English debt. According to these proportions, Ireland's equivalent—had such been given her at the Union, should have been something as follows:

Remarks
on the
Scotch
"equiva-
lent."

Her customs and excise revenue, 5th January, 1800, was (according to Appendix, F 2, of the Report of Lord Monteaigle's Committee of 1830, on the state of the Irish year)	£2,100,000
The proportion of $6\frac{1}{2}$ times their amount—being the proportion in the case of the Scotch equivalent	£13,125,000
And, if the proportion to the English debt be taken—the surplus of English debt over and above Irish, having in 1800 amounted to £401,418,558—one fifty-first part of that amount would be	7,870,952
	£20,995,952
The sum of these two would have been the least possible sum to offer Ireland, viz.	£10,497,976

Estimate
of one for
Ireland.

Ireland, however, did not get even this most inadequate sum. She was indeed, in appearance, saved exempt from England's *Ante-Union* liabilities; but by an arrangement, the tyrannical injustice of which was poorly covered by disgraceful subterfuge and delusion, was irretrievably involved in fresh, most unjust, and crushing debt of her own; and advantage taken of this to declare and enact, within sixteen short years after the Union, that she had no longer ground, so far as great relative inferiority of debt was concerned, for any exemption; and that she was therefore to be deprived of

Information
from A
Committee

all such exemption. This gross injustice we shall, as we go on, fully lay before the reader.

As the difference of the debts at the Union, deprived Lord Castlereagh of the shadow of a pretext to warrant his subjecting Ireland to all the burthens of England, he had to fix her rate of contribution to the future imperial expenditure, at a much lower amount than that of Great Britain.

The arrangement was as follows :—The whole united revenue was to be considered as divided into seventeen parts ; fifteen of which Great Britain was to make up, and two of which Ireland was to make up.

Further
exposition
by Castle-
reagh.

In order (said Lord Castlereagh in the speech from which we have before quoted) to find the sum which Ireland should contribute to the imperial expenditure, let the relative commercial wealth of both countries, and the relative expenses of both in articles of luxury, be examined ; and if it be found that these two proportions very nearly coincide, it ought to be fairly pronounced, that the best means of judging of the relative ability of the countries had been discovered. Taking then the exports and imports for the last three years, those of Ireland would be found to be £10,925,000 ; and of Britain, £73,961,000 ; that is, in the proportion of seven to one.

The next part of the proportion was to be found in excise articles of consumption ; such as malt, beer, spirits, wine, tea, tobacco. The average of these for the last three years, has been : Ireland, £5,954,000 ; Great Britain, £46,891,000 ; being in the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to one.

These two proportions coming so close, he would take $7\frac{1}{2}$ to one, as the just ratio of the ability of Great Britain to that of Ireland.

Against this estimate of the fiscal ability of Ireland, there was very considerable, but unfortunately, very useless reclamation. It was denounced as most unjust to her ; and events have so proved it, beyond the possibility of contradiction.

Protests
against
the rate
he fixed
for Ire-
land's con-
tribution.

The Journals of the Irish House of Lords (vol. VIII. page 386) give one protest on the subject, particularly excellent in manner and matter. It will be found along with other miscellanea at the end of this Appendix. The data which it supplies are as follows :—

Balance of Trade in favor of Great Britain—on her trade	
with the whole world	£14,800,000
Ditto, Ireland on her whole trade,	599,312
which give a proportion of 29 to 1.	
Current Cash in Great Britain,	£43,000,950
Ditto, in Ireland,	3,500,000
which give a proportion of 12 to 1.	

In another protest the following additional item is given :—

Permanent Taxes of Great Britain, on the 5th January, 1799, were £26,000,000—for Ireland, 2,000,000, or as 13 to 1.

The Scale then was :—Balance of Trade,	29 to 1
Current Cash,	12 to 1
Permanent Taxes,	13 to 1

Mean proportion that ought to have fixed the rate, ...	18 to 1
--	---------

The Lords alluded to other points of comparison, or rather to points of considerable disparity, which undoubtedly ought to have been taken into account—such as the influx of wealth into England from East and West India, and *Irish* absentee remittances; while Ireland was on the contrary drained :—the ease with which very large loans were to be had in Great Britain, while a recent attempt to raise only £1,500,000 in Ireland had failed, &c., &c.

Even upon adopting Lord Castlereagh's own plan of calculation, the proportion for Great Britain can be shewn to have been understated by him. A Return ordered by the British House of Commons, (No. 194 of 1834,) states the exports and imports of Ireland, on an average of three years, ending 1800, to have been £8,315,469 in value, instead of his estimate of £10,925,000. Assuming his account of British exports and imports to be at any rate, not exaggerated, (as exaggeration with regard to them would be an injury to his object, which was to represent the discrepancy between Ireland and England in point of commerce, as small as it could possibly be stated,) the proportion between the sum of imports and exports of the two countries would be 8½ to 1, instead of 7 to 1.

And with regard to his second means of comparison,

Errors in
his own
calcula-
tion.

although we have not at hand the documents to base the calculation upon exactly the same articles, yet we can supply the places of such of the latter as are not ascertainable at the moment, with most sufficient substitutes. Thus, for malt we substitute coffee; and for beer, the universally consumed article of sugar.

Average of Three Years, up to 1800.

Great Britain.	Ireland.
Tea £1,438,000	£88,000
Tobacco 825,600	256,000
Foreign Spirits 1,330,000	40,000
Wine 1,480,000	180,000
Sugar 1,804,000	200,000
Coffee 81,000	1,600
Total, Gt. Britain, £6,958,600	Ireland, £774,600

Appendix, Ch. I. to Report on Irish Ports, 1890

Which gives the same proportion of $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, instead of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

We may make the passing remark here, that there seems no reason why the proportions between the debts and revenues, respectively, of the two countries, should not have been brought into the comparison, as well as the ingredients that were selected.

It is not without good ground supposed that fractions were introduced with the direct design and intent of complicating the calculations, and thereby rendering them less likely to be looked into. The following results, however, can be got at, through all the maze and difficulty thus created.

It is first to be remarked that, as under his assumption, the whole united Revenue was to be considered as divisible into seventeen parts—fifteen of which to be provided for by Great Britain, and two by Ireland; so, under the amended calculation, the Revenue should be taken as divisible into twenty parts—two of such parts being for Ireland.

We find by the "Finance Class Accounts," that the aggregate during the fifteen years, ending 5th January, 1816, of the expenditure of the United Kingdom, (after deducting the interest and charges of their funded and unfunded debts,) amounted to ... £758,780,602

Two-seventeenths of that amount (being

Lord Castlereagh's demand from Ireland)

was ... £89,268,306

The fraction which we have stated, will be

found to give ... 75,878,060

Excess under Lord Castlereagh's rate ... 13,390,246

Or on an average annual sum of ... 892,683

the importance of which to Ireland may be estimated from the fact, that her average revenue is only about five times that amount.

Thus, taking the bases of calculation selected by Lord Castlereagh himself, we find that the rate of contribution fixed upon Ireland was an unjust one.

But those bases were, as we have seen, by the Irish Lords' protest, declared to be inadequate, and in themselves unjust.

It was well remarked by Mr. Speaker Foster and others, that in common decency there should have been a previous committee, or commission of enquiry, before calling on the representative body of Ireland, to pledge and bind their country to engagements of so intricate and deeply important a nature.

Mr. Foster's remarks on the bases adopted by the minister, were as follows:

The noble lord says he estimates the proportion on the joint grounds of commerce and consumption, but omits all internal commerce, which is much greater than the external. And even in the external he omits the tonnage of the shipping belonging to each kingdom, and rests solely on the value of the imports and exports: without regard to which country receives the profits of the carrying trade, though they constitute a material part of the value. And in consumption he omits the ar-

Mr. Speaker Foster on the subject.

title of salt, which is one of very general use—the gross duties on it last year were £800,000 in Britain, and £90,000 in Ireland, or nearly nine to one. The stamp duties arising from exchange of property, litigation, and insurance, shew in some sort the respective abilities—their gross amount in Great Britain last year was £2,000,000, (exclusive of post-horses, hair-powder licence, &c., not adopted here, or not affecting property in its transit,) and in Ireland only £137,000, or as fifteen to one. Yet these he has omitted. The post office also was adopted by many of his friends in England as a criterion for the growing wealth of Scotland; and I wonder at its escaping his attention. It produced last year in Britain, £874,300, in Ireland £80,000—about ten for Britain, to one for Ireland.

Mr. Foster did not state his calculation on these, having merely thrown them out as matters that ought to have been taken into account by the government.

It is, however, sufficiently clear from them that the British rate, as proposed by Lord Castlereagh, was much too low, and the Irish much too high. But these facts have been admitted in the Imperial Parliament, and therefore need not be much longer dwelt upon here.

Subsequent
confessions
of this in-
justice.

The present Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, President of the Board of Trade, was, when Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in 1816, the mouth-piece of Lord Castlereagh's government, in proposing the consolidation of the Exchequers, and in doing so, he thus denounced the injustice of the Union rate of contribution imposed upon Ireland, and its grievous effects upon her:—"I hope it will not be said that Ireland throws a great burden on the empire to save herself. Oh, no! The necessity of reviewing the act of Union has been caused by the sacrifices she has made, doing her best to keep pace with you. You contracted with her for an expenditure she could not meet. She had been led to hope that her expenditure would be less when united to you than before. She has absolutely paid more in taxes since the Union than seventy-eight millions, being forty-seven more than her revenue in the fifteen years on which her contribution was calculated." Thus the government itself, in 1816, confessed that the

rate of contribution for Ireland was too high, and consequently that that for Great Britain was too low.

Other statements to the same general effect were made by other members, both English and Irish, and not contradicted by any. We need not delay upon them, when we have no less an authority to quote than that of Mr. Goulburn, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1822, when speaking to a motion of Sir J. Newport's, the Right Hon. Gentleman said: "The Union contribution of 2-17ths for Ireland, *is now allowed on all hands* to have been more than she was able to bear."

The injustice of the rate thus established, we shall presently go more into detail as to its effects and consequences to Ireland. Before doing so, the pretences under which it was recommended and advocated, deserve a little examination.

Having stated the principle (*viz.*, the proportionate rates of contribution) of article 7, I shall now enumerate its provisions.

The 1st section provides, that the past debts of the two kingdoms shall be borne by them respectively, and if we couple this liberal provision with the 9th section, which gives Ireland a participation in whatever sums may be produced from the territorial revenues of the British dependencies in India, we must acknowledge not only the justice, but the generosity of the terms. Great Britain holds out a fair participation in all the advantages of the empire, without requiring the smallest participation in the burthens incurred to procure them; and Ireland will acquire £58,000, in ease of her own burthens, out of the revenues paid by the East India Company.

Deceitful
promises.

The reader will doubtless be at a loss to discover the great "*liberality*" of a provision, that Ireland, owing only 23 millions of debt, should not be called on for fiscal contributions equal to those of Great Britain, who was indebted to the amount of 424 millions. The merest and scantiest justice necessitated such a provision.

The "*liberality*" of the 9th section, is equally unsustainable. Mr. Foster thus spoke of it:

This is a curious offer. £58,000 per annum from the East India Company, being our 2-17ths of £500,000 a year, which

that Company covenanted to pay, when her new charter was granted in 1793—one penny of which I believe she has not yet paid, and a share of which we are in justice entitled to, without regard to Union; when we confirmed that charter the same year.

But the payment may be postponed to eternity, if the Lords of the Treasury shall deem it inconvenient to the affairs of the Company to pay it; for they have a power to suspend it by the act. Let me ask the noble lord why he has omitted to allot us a share of the £12,000,000 to the sinking fund, and of the surplus to the consolidated fund, provided for out of their profits by the same act? He nods assent; but will it, or any part of it, come before the time when our proportion of contribution is to cease? It will be inoperative afterwards..... We shall have to find a new tax, to the amount of £58,000 a-year, to advance it for the East India Company!

Mr. Foster was mistaken in saying that the East India Company had not paid something. They paid (as we see by appendix No. 13, to the 4th report on income and expenditure of the United Kingdom, No. 519, of 1828) half their stipulated contribution for each of the years 1793, 1794, 1796, and its full amount in 1797, making a total of £1,250,000, of which *Ireland got nothing*, although she was, as Mr. Foster said, most fully and rightly entitled to a portion—she having renewed their charter, as well as England—that is, having enacted restrictions on her own trade in their favour. He was only too correct in his prediction that Ireland would have to find a new tax of £58,000 to pay in advance for the promised post-Union contribution from the East India Company to the Irish revenue. In the sixteen years after the Union, up to the year in which the Consolidation Act (56 Geo. III. c. 98, that which put an end to all proportionate contribution, and thenceforward made debts and taxation common to both countries) come into force, viz., the year 1817, the Company contributed but £98,000, not the amount for two years of the promised payment to Ireland; *nor did Ireland receive a portion of this amount, small as it was*. The £58,000 contribution was to be a means for her, of meeting her contingent to the imperial exchequer—she

was hindered of those means, by the tender consideration of the Lords of the Treasury for the East India Company, and consequently had no other way of providing that amount of her said contingent, than by "a new tax."

The unparalleled audacity of assertion that throughout marked the advocacy of the Union in the Irish Parliament at least, was in no instance more conspicuous than in that of the asserted "*liberality and generosity*" of the sections we have considering. We have seen that the promised "participation" in the sums to be received from the East India Company, was, in fact, nothing more than what Ireland had acquired a right to, by her compliance to that body in 1793. Let us examine was there more of substance in the assurance, that "the smallest participation in the burthens incurred to procure the imperial advantages" was "not required from Ireland."

Unfound-
ed asser-
tions.

In the first place, if Lord Castlereagh's words were meant to convey the impression that she had not, up to that time, borne her part of them, his assertion was inconsistent with his subsequent endeavour (which we shall presently quote) to prove that Ireland, in consequence of her not being legislatively united with Great Britain, was then paying *a million a-year in war contributions* more than she otherwise would have done.

It was also most thoroughly inconsistent with the positions laid down and assented to in the British House of Lords, in the preceding year, by Lord Minto, when, in an attempt to recommend the legislative Union to Ireland, on the ground that her legislative independence was a mockery and only served to hinder her from sharing the advantages of England, he thus represented her existing condition:—

Ireland, at present, *must take her part in all the wars of Great Britain. She must bear her share of their burthens, and incur all their hazards. Yet she cannot, by the utmost success, acquire an acre of new territory to the Irish dominion. Every acquisition, however great her share in the danger and*

exertion to get it, accrues to Great Britain. An island taken by Irish regiments, and by ships manned by Irish seamen, is a *British conquest*, not an Irish. The Irish parliament has never asserted, or conceived, the right of legislating for any of the conquests of the King of England; although he is King of Ireland.....If we would describe a subordinate and dependent country, could we do it better than by saying, it is a country which *must contribute her quota to all the wars of a neighbouring kingdom—must incur all the risks of those wars, and partake in all their disasters; while all that is acquired by their success falls, like the lion's share, to that country to which it claims to be co-ordinate and co-equal.....*I have thus demonstrated the real subordination of Ireland. Pride can fly only to one of two remedies—total and absolute separation, or a perfect, incorporating, and equalizing Union.

If additional proofs were wanting, that Ireland had not shrunk from the imperial burthens, they can be collected from the strong expressions of thanks from successive Viceroy's to our parliament, during the period of its independence, for its *liberal and generous grants towards the exigencies of the state*. In the text of the compilation to which the present article is one of the appendices, will be found several instances of what we mention; and a further strong proof in the heavy debt-liabilities incurred by Ireland during the last seven or eight years before the Union, in consequence of her assistance to England.

The thanks of the representatives of royalty would not have been so frequently, and markedly expressed, had Ireland shewn a niggard disposition, in considering the exigencies of the empire.

Lord Minto, in the extract we have given, went the length of saying that Ireland, from the necessity of her position, was compelled to bear, and *had borne her share of the imperial burthens*.

What *future exemption* the promise of Lord Castlereagh gave Ireland hope for, could not be understood as intended to continue after the period when the debts of the two countries should come to bear to each other the same proportions respectively, as the contributions were then fixed at. In the same speech it was declared that, on the

occurrence of such a contingency, the exchequers, debts, &c. of the two countries were to be united; and thenceforth their contributions to be indiscriminate. It was not however, said in the same speech, but it was not the less then intended, and afterwards effected unflinchingly and unparingly, by means of the unjust rate then imposed upon Ireland, that this contingency was to be made to occur as speedily as possible, and in a manner the most unjust towards Ireland! We proceed with Lord Castlereagh's proofs of the benefit to Ireland of his proposed rate:—

Great Britain has at length established the great principle of raising a great part of her supplies within the year. Ireland is not at present in a situation to adopt a similar system. Hence Britain's debt will hereafter increase in a much less degree, and be more rapidly liquidated; while that of Ireland will be increasing with greater rapidity, especially if she continues separate.

Lord Castlereagh's attempt to prove his plan a benefit to Ireland.

The expenses of Great Britain, for 1799, ...	£32,700,000
Ireland,	5,439,000
Had this been borne in the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, the expenditure by Great Britain would have been,	£33,696,101
And by Ireland,	4,492,680
Ireland would consequently have saved, in British currency	947,314
Irish money,	1,020,181

So long, Sir, as the war shall last, and we continue separate from Great Britain, our expenses cannot be reduced, and therefore we must, in future, expend more by £1,000,000 a-year, than if we were united.

As to times of peace, if we consider the advanced pay of the army, the increased charge of the militia, &c., &c., we shall find it impossible to maintain, if only 12,000 men at home, at a less charge than £1,500,000 per annum. And if we increase the establishment to 20,000, the whole charge would amount to £1,900,000 per annum. Now, sir, from the best documents I have been able to procure, it appears that the peace establishment of Great Britain is likely to be, ... £7,500,000

And of Ireland, 1,500,000

And the peace establishment of Great Britain, £9,000,000

And the peace establishment of Ireland,

If this charge be borne as $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, there would be a saving to Ireland of 450,000*l.* British; or nearly 500,000*l.* Irish currency.

Now, sir, let us turn to the situation of the public revenues. The produce of all the taxes last year amounted nearly to 1,850,000*l.*; and the present charges of the debt alone, are nearly 1,400,000*l.* Irish currency. I will, however, admit the revenues of this kingdom have, during the present year, experienced an extraordinary increase; but it is not possible to suppose that the whole of this increase can be permanent. Say the revenue produce permanently 2,300,000*l.*

Our debt charge is,	£1,400,000
Peace establishment,	1,500,000

Total expenses,	£2,900,000
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So that we shall have, if remaining separate, an annual deficiency of 600,000*l.*, which we must supply by new burthens on the people; besides additional taxes of 250,000*l.*, so long as the war continue. If, on the contrary, we wisely unite with Great Britain, the future charge of our war expense will be diminished a million a year; and we shall be able to support our peace expenditure with a very slight addition to the present taxes.

On this statement, Mr. Foster remarked as follows:—

Mr. Foster's refutation.

It is curious to observe the noble lord's arguments last year and now. Our growing wealth was then held out by him as tending to render us too difficult to be governed by our present constitution, and there was the greater hurry for taking away our parliament. Now our poverty is made the pretence—we must take the Union to save us from bankruptcy! We have not the means to go on. We have over-paid our due proportion of the war expense, by a million a-year; and of the peace expense by 500,000*l.*! We have almost ruined the kingdom by this profusion; and Britain, in proposing the measure, means to give us that million and half million, and hereafter tax herself to pay it!

I own we have granted largely—we have not measured our grants by our means so much as by our zeal to uphold Great Britain; but are we for this to be punished, and our parliament transported, like a felon, for its extravagant efforts to maintain British connexion, by maintaining the cause of Britain? Did the noble lord sit by during the two last sessions—the most expensive we ever saw,—and not only see, but *urge us*, to give the supplies we gave, meaning at a future day to make our liberality, and these cordial effusions of our loyalty, so many arguments for taking away our parliament, and annihilating our constitution?.....Is there any child so weak as to believe he

is in earnest, or that he means to load England, to save Ireland? And how is this "million" to be paid us?—In money?—Are our past advances to be repaid? No! Taxes to be taken off?—No! He gives us *calculation*—nothing but *calculation*!..... I will go into his detail, and shew you the imposition.

He states the relative ability of the two countries to be as $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; stating peace expenses as $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and war expenses as 9 to 1; and making the medium $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 (considering the proportions of years of peace and war in this century). This makes 2-17ths for Ireland to pay to future aggregate expenditure, and 15-17ths for England. I take this statement of last year's British expenses as £32,700,000

But I find no authority for this statement as to Ireland, so I take them for last year, although then unusually great. The report of the committee of accounts makes them 4,347,000
British money, or 4,709,254*l.* *Irish*, making
 together £37,047,000
 2-17ths whereof, being 4,358,470*l.*, would have been our share, had his Union been in force, which exceeds by a trifle the sum we did actually pay.

British.

But he goes further, for he makes our war share £4,492,000 which exceeds what we did pay, viz. 4,347,000
 So his arrangement, which is to save us a million, would have cost £145,000
 more to us—in Irish money 157,000*l.* more—than we did pay.

Again, Britain in six years, up to 1799, increased her debt in the sum of 186,000,000*l.*; and Ireland, up to March in that year, increased hers 14,000,000*l.* British (*nearly*). Total 200,000,000*l.*; whereof 2-17ths would have been 23,530,000*l.*, or Irish £25,500,000

But Ireland increased her debts (in Irish money) only 15,092,000
 So that, by not having a Union, she has
 escaped £10,408,000

This would have caused an increased average annual *charge* of 1,734,666*l.*, instead of the promised saving of 1,000,000*l.* per annum!

Again, Great Britain, during those six years, has imposed permanent taxes of the nett amount of $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions a year, of which 2-17ths must have been raised by Ireland; making annually 882,352*l.* British, or 955,881*l.* Irish. And this is another way in which the generosity of the Union would have been shewn to us.

Further, she has, by temporary taxes on exports, imports, and income, (or by mortgaging them,) the amount of $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions

a year, of which Ireland would have had to pay 2-17ths, or 1,352,940*l.* British, making 1,465,685*l.* Thus, had we been united in 1793, we should now owe 10 millions more debt, and pay annually 4,156,239*l.* more than now!

Now for his peace establishment. He states it will be 1,500,000*l.*, although he confesses that the last was only 1,012,000*l.*

He takes the produce of a year's taxes to 25th March, 1799, as 1,860,000*l.*, omitting the balances in the collectors' hands, which were 257,822*l.* more at the end than at the beginning of the year. This was part of the income of the year, and might have been had if called for. The whole then was 2,118,000*l.* He estimates the permanent increase of the revenue in 1800 as 450,000*l.*, forgetting the lotteries, which may be reckoned at a profit of about 70,000*l.*; making altogether an income of 2,638,000*l.*, which leaves for peace establishment, after paying the charges of the debt, viz. 1,400,000*l.*, at least 1,238,000*l.*, and this after a year of rebellion!

I have throughout taken his mode of calculation, in order to render comparison more easy, and, for the same reason, have admitted his return of the debt at the total capital created, viz. seventeen millions, which the treasury states, instead of thirteen millions, which the accountant-general states, and which the committee of supply have voted as the whole due at Lady Day, 1799. And I have carried that principle through with him throughout all the calculations, because he preferred it; and they are made in British money.

As to the rate of contribution, war expenses are much larger than those of peace—at his own calculations nearly as $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1—but really $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. Where then is the fairness of our paying 2-15ths instead of 2-20ths, when the expenses are 4,700,000*l.* per annum, and making a saving in return where they were only 1,000,000*l.*, and are, at the utmost, but 1,500,000*l.*, particularly as there are but two years of saving, or peace, calculated, for one of loss, or war.

The foregoing refutation, complete as it was, of the ministerial pretences, had, however, as little effect as every thing else advanced by the friends of Ireland to abate the injustices with which she was then threatened, and which soon after were inexorably inflicted upon her.

It must be incontestably evident, that the rates should have been far other than they were. No doubt few matters could be more difficult of arrangement than a system of

proportionate contributions; but that circumstance is in itself, a sufficient proof of the impracticability of an EQUITABLE legislative Union.

Even had an approach been made to equity in the arrangement of the rates, it was against the nature of things to suppose, that the country which was to get the supreme legislative power, would long tolerate the exemptions of the other (and *defenceless*) country—no matter how just those exemptions.

No object, worth the trouble and delay, could be gained by following out to a definite result in each case, (with the design of then endeavouring so to blend them, as to be able to deduce from the whole, if possible, some fair terms of proportion,) the various calculations advanced to rectify those of Lord Castlereagh. It is enough to say, generally, that they will be found to suggest proportions of somewhere about 17 to 1, instead of those of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which he dictated and carried.

We proceed to examine the working of these latter rates.

Referring to the Act of Union, we find that the distinction of separate rates was to be done away with; and the two countries united in matters of finance, as strictly as in other matters—upon the occurrence of three, or, more properly speaking, *two* contingencies; the latter of which was of a double nature.

Examination into the working, and results of Lord Castlereagh's rates.

The first was, in case the debts of the two countries should both be liquidated.

The second was, in case they should come to bear to each other the same proportions that the arranged contributions of the two countries were to bear to each other, viz., as 2 to 15; and also, in case the respective circumstances of the two countries should appear to admit thenceforth of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom.

It cannot be necessary to dwell upon the first contingency;

which the enormous amount of the debt of Great Britain rendered so very remotely, if at all, probable:

The second contingency will require a separate consideration of each of its two branches.

The first branch, viz. that the debts of the two countries should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland, was thus treated of by Lord Castlereagh:—

Evidences
of "malice
prepense"
against
Ireland.

Before this can take place, the taxes of Great Britain must be reduced by the amount of ten millions a-year It may happen, however, that if war should continue, and Ireland fund her supplies, while England raises a great part of hers within the year, and mortgages her income tax to their rapid reduction in time of peace, that the proportion of the debt of Ireland may rise."

Two other versions of his speech (one printed by Stockdale, 62, Abbey-street, and the other by Milliken, Grafton-street) give this part of it rather differently, making him appear to contemplate the decrease of British debt, as the sole means by which the required proportion of the two debts was to be brought about. The version, however, (printed by Rea, 57, Exchequer-street,) from which we extract, appears much the fullest, and in its statistics generally the most accurate of the three.

It is a curious commentary upon the alleged "fairness" of the Union-terms, that the version of his speech which we have used, is certainly the most correct as to his statement regarding the contingency in question. Nothing would appear fairer than that the required proportion should have been brought about solely by the decrease of English debt, and nothing could be more justifiable than Mr. Foster's indignant remark upon the actual arrangement:—"The monstrous absurdity," said he, (on the 15th March, 1800,) "that you would force down our throats is, that Ireland's increase of poverty, (as shewn by increase of debt,) and England's increase of wealth, (as shewn by diminution of debt,) are to bring them to an equality of condition; so

to be able to bear an equality of taxes. This is contrary to all reason.

He said perfectly true, but the arrangement was forced upon Ireland, in that shape, nevertheless.

This was bad enough, "but worse remained behind!"

The required proportion was brought about solely by the INCREASE of the Irish Debt—no DECREASE whatever occurring in the British!

Between the Union and the consolidation, various committees of the imperial parliament sat upon the subject of the financial relations between the two countries. It is impossible to peruse the records of their proceedings without being struck by the evidences of one design, one intent, pervading them all, viz.—the design and the intent of hastening on the consolidation, without much regard to that part of the contingency that was expected to be in favour of Ireland. "*Rem, rem, quocumque modo, rem!*" seems to have been their motto. This *animus* is distinctly visible in the proceedings of the committees of 1811, 12, and 13, preparatory, as it were, to its full, and entire, and final developement in the report of the committee of 1815. The committee of the year 1811, actively assisted the increase of Irish debt, by recommending that "the payments since the Union, made to corporate bodies, or individuals, in Ireland, in respect of any city or borough, which may have ceased to send members to parliament in consequence of the Union, should *not* be considered as a *joint* charge;" thereby throwing upon Ireland, directly and openly, the last remaining item of the extravagant purchase-money of her parliament; the other enormous item, viz.—the million and nearly a half expended in personal bribery, as well as the millions wasted in military expenses, having been quietly saddled upon her before. This last charge thus openly put down to her account, and unjustly too,—(for surely the rest of the empire ought to have borne some share of the cost of a measure which was asserted to be an advantage to the whole,)—amounted to nearly £1,300,000.

"Malice
prepayse"
of the
finance
commit-
tees of the
united
parlia-
ment.

The other committees chiefly busied themselves with calculations as to the proportions the debts of the two countries bore to each other, and a good deal of argument is wasted in their reports upon what they affected to consider a great constitutional question—namely, whether the terms of the Union Act would allow of the consolidation being effected, if the actual moment of *projection*—the very instant when the debts came to bear to each other the required proportion of fifteen to two—were not seized upon for the purpose. They affected great anxiety lest a question should be raised upon the practicability, legally speaking, of effecting the consolidation *after* the proportion had been obtained, should that proportion chance to be *worse* than obtained, viz.—should the Irish debt come to bear a higher proportion to the British than two to fifteen. This earnestness was put on and assumed, to blind the public mind to their total neglect of examining into the real causes of the monstrous increase of Irish debt, and their total omission of considering the second branch of the contingency, without the existence of which the consolidation could not be legal, according to the Act of Union. We allude to the provision—“*And if it shall appear, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will therefore admit of their contributing indiscriminately to the general expenditure,*” &c. &c..... This was not taken into consideration at all, until the meeting of the committee of 1815, and yet it is as important a proviso as any one contained in the Act of Union, and is, to use a legal phrase, a “*condition cumulative,*” that is, a condition additional upon the first condition, that the debts should be to each other as fifteen to two. The committee of 1815 did, indeed, allude to this second condition; but, as it would seem, only to outrage it. They pursued the same mock perquisition into the self-suggested quibble of the other committees; and while they thus assumed, with regard to one point (at best quite beside the real question), such nicety of discrimination, they slurred over a consideration of the

most vital importance,—that which was contained in the second condition of which we speak.

We shall presently have to refer more specially to the conduct of the committee of 1815.

Meantime this is the place to remark, that the flagitious means by which the required proportions of the two debts were brought about, had been plainly provided by the Act of Union. And of the framers of the Union Act.

In the first place there was, as we have seen, a most disproportionately grievous rate of contribution imposed upon Ireland.

But this could never, unassisted, have swelled the debt of Ireland; on the contrary, it should, itself, have had to be repealed, when Ireland's inability to meet it became apparent—which was the case immediately after the Union.

The rate should, itself, have been repealed, because all future loans being to be borne according to the proportions of fifteen to two, any increase to the debt of Ireland, by reason of loans to supply the deficiency of the product of her taxation, would have necessitated a proportionate increase to the debt of Great Britain. The latter country, therefore, would have been made to feel practically, and year after year in an increasing ratio of severity, the grievousness of the rate that had been put upon the former.

To prevent this, and to make sure that the debt of Ireland should rise, the following artfully worded proviso was introduced into the 6th section of the “financial” article (the 7th) of the Act of Union.

.....“Provided, that if at any time, in raising the contributions hereby fixed for each country, parliament shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the other country; then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each respectively.”.....

Ruinous
conse-
quences
to Ire-
land.

The means thus given were most unsparingly used. The annual finance accounts give the progressive details—it is at present sufficient for us to state the general result. For this purpose we will give here the respective amounts of the debts of each country in 1801,* and on the 5th of January, 1817, together with the annual charge,—pre-mising that the amounts in each case include unfunded as well as funded debt, and the statements of annual charge include the charge on both kinds.

GREAT BRITAIN.			IRELAND.	
	Debt.	An. Charge.	Debt.	An. Charge.
5th Jan. 1801.	£ 450,504,984	£ 17,718,851	£ 28,545,134	£ 1,244,463
5th Jan. 1817.	734,522,104	28,238,416	112,704,773	4,104,514

Par. Paper, 35 of 1819.

The reader will remark, that there was *no decrease* at all of either debt, but an *increase* of both. It would have been very bad for Ireland even had her debt increased only in *proportion* with that of Great Britain. Still that *proportionate* increase would at least have saved her from being loaded (as she was by the consolidation of the exchequers) with all England's liabilities: for, of course, the disparity between the two debts would have remained as great as ever; and therefore there would have been no excuse for consolidation. But how cruel and monstrous the injustice, that not only was her debt increased, but while the British debt did not double, hers was increased four-fold!

It is no straining of an argument, but an inevitable con-

* Some pages further on, a note will be found in which we deny that the amounts for 1801 fairly represented the respective debts. We take them here, however, as the unjust means, which the Union Act provided for inflaming the liability of Ireland, began their operation in 1801.

clusion from the premises laid down by the quotations we have given from Lord Fitzgerald and Mr. Goulburn, that as the means by which this excessive increase of Irish debt was created were unjust, that excess itself is unjust, and should by no means be considered as part of the rightful liabilities of Ireland.

No such consideration however was allowed to weigh in her favour, but the fact was taken abstractedly, that her debt had increased so as to be within the ratio of the contributions !

We have already recorded the declaration made, and not controverted, in the British parliament, as to the great efforts of Ireland to do her part, after the Union, by taxation. It was on the failure of these efforts that the ruinous system of loans was resorted to. The finance committee of 1815, thus bore testimony to the efforts of Ireland :

“Your committee cannot but remark, that for several years Ireland has advanced in permanent taxation more rapidly than Great Britain herself, notwithstanding the immense exertions of the latter country, and including the extraordinary and war taxes. The permanent revenue of Great Britain increased from 1801, when the amounts of both countries were first made to correspond, in the proportion of $16\frac{1}{2}$ to 10. The whole revenue of Britain (including war taxes), as $21\frac{1}{2}$ to 10, and the revenues of Ireland as 23 to 10.”

Mr. Leslie Foster, the late Baron Foster, of the Irish bench, a member connected with government, followed Mr. Fitzgerald (whom we have before quoted), and imitated him in ascribing the bankrupt condition of Ireland to the oppressiveness of her rate of contribution. He thus described her increase of taxation, in her vain efforts to meet that rate : “The taxation of Ireland at the Union was £2,440,000 ; in 1810 it had risen to £4,280,000 ; in 1816 it was £5,760,000. *In fact, taxation in that country had been carried almost to its ne plus ultra.*”

To these testimonies we shall add but one more—that of the late Lord Sydenham, when moving, on the 26th of March, 1830, for a committee for a revision of taxation :—

"A case is established in the instance of Ireland, which is written in characters too legible not to serve as a guide to future financiers,—one which ought to bring shame on the memory of its authors. The revenue of Ireland in 1807 was 4,378,000*l.* Between that year and the conclusion of the war, taxes were successively imposed, which, according to the calculations of Chancellors of the Exchequer, were to produce 3,400,000*l.*, or to augment the revenue to 7,700,000*l.* The result was, that in 1821, when that sum—less about 400,000*l.* for taxes repealed—ought to have been paid into the exchequer, the whole revenue of Ireland amounted to only 3,844,000*l.*, being 533,000*l.* less than in 1807, previous to one farthing of these additional taxes having been imposed. Here is an example to prove that an increase of taxation does not tend to produce a corresponding increase of revenue, but, on the contrary, an actual diminution."—*Hansard's Debates.*

Breach of
the provi-
sions of
the Act of
Union.

The first branch of the second contingency under which "consolidation" was to take place, having been thus most unjustly attained, it remains to be seen what was done as regarded the second branch.

This was in terms :—"And if it shall appear that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes," &c. &c.

This was not a condition alternative, but, in legal terms, a condition cumulative—that is to say, a condition *additional* upon the preceding—and required with equal imperativeness. No possible ingenuity can maintain the position—nor has it ever been attempted—that this condition was not absolutely necessary, according to the plain wording of the act, and that without it the occurrence of the first—namely, the coming of the two debts into the required proportions—did not fulfil the legal requisites for the contingency that was to justify the measure of consolidating the exchequers of the two countries, and rendering both subject to the same liabilities.

It is scarcely credible to say—what however is the fact—that this condition was disregarded—or, what made the fact worse, was considered only to be outraged! The committee of 1815 thus dealt with the matter (*p. p.* 12, 13, *Report of 1815, sess. number 214.*)—

"It remained then for your committee to consider, whether or not the respective circumstances of the two countries would henceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes, &c. &c.

"It is well known that parliament has not hitherto deemed it expedient to extend to Ireland the most productive of the taxes imposed in Great Britain, for raising, by direct taxation, the supplies within the year. In other respects your committee have found the taxes of Ireland not fully equalized with those of Great Britain, particularly in the excise, where some important branches are protected from increase until 1820, by the act of Union, and in the stamps.

"But on the other great heads of revenue—customs and assessed taxes—they have found a very near approximation between the rates of both countries."

[Here follows the remark we have before quoted from the same committee, on the excessive increase of the permanent taxation of Ireland.]

"Under these circumstances it is manifest that no practical benefit can possibly be obtained, for any part of the united kingdom, by endeavouring to maintain a fixed proportion of expenditure, when that proportion has rapidly carried the debt of Ireland from a state of great relative inferiority into a growing excess, which cannot be met by any system of taxation that would not violate the most solemn engagements.

"Moreover, it appears to your committee, that from the whole tenor of the act of Union, and the very circumstance of the temporary guards to prevent the too sudden imposition of burdens on the weaker country, before time had been allowed for the acquisition of at least equivalent benefits, that a Union, strict and perfect in matters of finance,..... to the extent of consolidating the treasuries and the exchequers, must have been contemplated by the two treasuries.

"On the whole, then, with a view to the clear advantages of all parts of the empire—to relieving Ireland from a burden which experience has proved too great—and at the same time with the hope of rendering her resources more productive,.....your committee have resolved,.....

[Here follows their resolution, to the effect that the time was come for the consolidation of the exchequer.]

"Without wasting time in general reflections on the evident "malice prepense" of the foregoing, let us come to its practical examination.

In the first place we have additional and conclusive testimony as to the grievousness of the Union-rate of contribution imposed upon Ireland.

What would be the natural remedy for this—taking into consideration the admitted exhaustion of Ireland? Should it not have been to *revise* the rate—to alter it, to lower it, and thereby suit it better to the ability of Ireland—relieving her at the same time from the excess of debt into which its injustice had plunged her?

It was true, that the 2nd section of the 7th article of Union, provided that a revision of the rates was not to take place for 20 years; but even if justice did not require (upon other grounds, however, than the committee adopted) the period of revision to be anticipated, the committee themselves recommended what was, in effect, a breach of the provision in question.

In the second place, where were the proofs of this “ability” of Ireland? How was she shewn to have so improved, as that her “circumstances” should be considered to “admit of her contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes” with England?

Of this, not only did they not attempt any proof, but, as the reader will have seen, they established the direct contrary, by declaring that Ireland’s then existing burdens—much inferior as they were to England—had been “proved by experience to be too great.”

Possible
objection
to our
argument.

An objection, not very tenable at best, and most easy to be refuted, may be taken here to our argument. It may be said, that in the extract we have given from the report of 1815, there is a clear allusion to the absence in Ireland, of *taxes the most likely to be productive*; and that the intent of the promoters of the consolidation was, by that measure, to annul, legally, the restrictions which the Union Act placed upon the imposition or increase in Ireland of rates upon some “important branches of taxation;” and when that was effected, that their further *intention* was, to compensate her by the repeal of certain *more oppressive* and

less productive taxes at that time in force—thus bringing into play the clause which provided that, even after consolidation, there might be particular exemptions allowed in that country. To ascertain if this were done, or if the materials existed for doing it, it requires only to examine the general state of the imposts of Ireland then and afterwards. Taxes upon the following productive articles were the same in both countries, viz. *tea, sugar, tobacco, wine, coffee, cotton-yarn, and wool, raw and organzine silk, foreign bar-iron, timber, besides a multitude of others.* While the committee were sitting, the Irish *malt* duties were assimilated to the British. The items we have given in italics are enumerated (with the addition of those of “spirits and beer”) in the 2nd section of the 7th article of Union, as furnishing, in their respective quotas of production, in Great Britain and Ireland, proper elements of a comparison on which any future revision of the rates of contribution was to be founded. The other articles we mention amply supply the place of “beer” and of “spirits,” and enable us to take the list as (according to no less an authority than the act of Union itself) most sufficient basis for an estimate of “ability;” and so being, the duties upon them must necessarily be among the most important of the imperial imposts. Answer.

If then these duties were to be lightened off Ireland by the consolidation, some of the most productive of her taxes would have to be given up. The four articles alone, of wine, sugar, tea, and tobacco, produced £2,000,000, in the year 1814, in Ireland—being not very far from half her whole produce of taxation in that year.

The committee confessed that not only customs’ duties, but assessed taxes, were as nearly similar as might be. In so far therefore as they were productive branches of the revenue, no change could be made, to *increase* their produce in Ireland: her taxes being of course restricted to an equality with those of England.

Stamps, and some branches of the excise offered the only

hope; and they are accordingly pointed at in the report.—The former, however, was never a source of much revenue in Ireland. And that it was not expected to be so, the best proof is given by the fact, that it is only in the last year, 1842, that they have been equalized with those of England. A trifling increase indeed was made upon them in the course of the year 1815, but the committee of that year, alluding to it as a then pending measure, treated it as little affecting the comparison between the taxes of the two countries. Other additions also of small produce were made in 1821 and 1823, and *attempted* in 1828: which latter attempt had to be given up, owing to the representations made to government of the ruin that would be caused by their infliction. And the “assimilation” of last year was not brought forward with any great promise of its insuring great productiveness. Mr. Staunton, (of the “Register,” Dublin Newspaper,) whose vigilance is ever awake where the interests of his country, particularly in financial points, are threatened, thus remarked at the time, in the columns of his excellent journal:—

If “assimilation” be equitable, it is where there is a parity of wealth and resources. Ireland has the one-third of the population of the empire. Had she an equal proportion of the power of raising revenue, there could be no argument against “assimilation.” But *has she that power?* Take the receipts of these very duties as an example. They were, on 5th January, 1841, 470,000*l.* By the new project of the Tory government it is calculated that 160,000*l.* may be added—making the total 630,000*l.* When “assimilation” does its utmost, it expects to realize this amount; and what is it, after all, but the 1-11th of the British receipts?

English stamp duties, year ended 5th Jan. 1841,	£6,471,000
Scotch,	569,000
Irish,	470,000

By “assimilation” Ireland can be drawn up to little more than an equality with Scotland—and yet Scotland has little more than one-fourth of the population of Ireland.

We do not amend Mr. Staunton’s statements by substituting the figures of last year’s receipts, for those of the

time he wrote—as the latter sufficiently shew what he desired to make known.

More than enough has, we trust, been put forward to shew that the stamp duties offered no chance for the “better arrangement,” against the possibility of which we are just now contending. Under the head of excise duties, the exemptions of Ireland were, “beer, bricks and tiles, candles, cider and perry, glass, (exclusive of bottles,) hops, printed calicoes, salt, soap, starch, stone bottles,—on which articles she had no internal duty—and auctions, glass bottles, hides and skins, licences, paper, spirits, and vinegar, on which her duties were not equal to the British.

The excise duty on beer was made to operate against our Irish porter imported into England, and the duty on home spirits told most heavily against Irish whiskey similarly imported. Had England and Scotland been exempt from those duties, it would have been an immense advantage to the Irish brewer and distiller; and consequently their continuance was a great injury to those parties.

We got our hops from England, and the English grower had the duty remitted to him, by drawback on exportation to Ireland:—so that to have put duties on hops in Ireland would not have lightened the English burthens, while the hop growers of that country would have suffered from our diminished consumption. The same as to soap, with the exception of two circumstances unfavourable to Ireland, viz: 1st—that not only had the English maker the benefit of the drawback of duty, but that he absolutely got a *premium*, inasmuch as in originally paying the duty he was remitted one-tenth of it for waste; while the drawback given him on exportation was of the *full and unabated amount* of the duty. 2nd—that he thereby was able to undersell the Irish manufacturer in his own market. In bricks, glass, and paper, as well as in several minor branches of excise, either the same system of drawback had been allowed upon the quantities exported (quantities which, in most cases, comprised the

whole of the Irish consumption of those articles) ; or where no drawback existed, the result did not essentially differ, as the English exporter, lacking the reimbursement of the drawback, included the duty in his price to the Irish consumer, who, therefore, was and is the person who really paid and pays the duty upon the articles in question ! Nay, it is certain that on some articles imported from England, we have to pay the whole, or part, of the excise duty originally imposed there, *notwithstanding that such duty has been drawn back by the exporter*. This is the case, for instance, as regards red bricks, on which the practice of the Englishman is, to charge us the duty in the price ; and with regard to fire-bricks, he does so to the amount of half the duty, although in both cases he has drawn back the entire amount from the government on exportation !

Since the consolidation, the following was the progress of excise assimilation. Paper duties assimilated in 1825—hides and skins at the same time—vinegar duties in 1826—glass duties in 1828—and some minor points since, as auction duties, &c., &c.

Whether these changes have been “productive” or not, the reader can judge for himself, from the following statements of the gross receipts of excise, for the years 1817 and 1841. That for the first year named, is taken from parliamentary paper, No. 659 of 1833, which gives the excise and assessed taxes’ receipt in a lump sum, and necessitated a reference to No. 194 of 1834, where the amount received on the Irish assessed taxes for that year is given as £523,748, deducting which from the lump sum in the former paper, we get the amount of excise receipts alone, as stated below.

These papers were moved for by the present Lord Montague, and prepared under his personal superintendence, at a time when he was anxious to make a case for the “prosperity” of Ireland since the Union ; and, of course, would not permit the excise account to be understated.

The amount for 1841, is from the annual finance accounts.		
Excise receipts, Ireland, 1817,	..	£1,770,550
Do. 1841,	..	1,279,484
Decrease,		£491,066

and this although population had so much increased !

We have perhaps wasted too much time in refuting so shallow an objection, as that we have just now answered. It might have been enough to refer generally and with confidence to the existing state of things, to prove that no such *kindness* as it suggests, was intended by the consolidation. But it is not without use to do away with all the specious pretexts advanced to justify the conduct of those who originated that most unjust measure.

Coming back from this digression, we resume the examination of the 1815 Committee's Report.

As we have before said, there is not the slightest attempt made to shew *any* increased ability of Ireland since the Union; although the wording of the act can in no other way be construed, save to mean that such increase was a necessary incident, before consolidation of the exchequers.

The paragraph which speaks of the ultimate design of the framers of the Union, to carry out that Union in matters of *finance*, as well as in others, was but a mere cloud of words, declaring that of which no one entertained doubt, and seemingly intended to divert attention from the grave omissions in other parts. Were it any thing else, stress would have been laid upon the "acquisition of equivalent benefits," of which it speaks. There is no attempt to assert that Ireland received such benefits; but the manner in which they are mentioned leads to the inference, that what could not, with any decency, be openly advanced, was sought to be indirectly suggested, with some hope of causing a deceitful belief in the possibility of their existence.

The succeeding and last paragraph of our quotation exceeds all that went before it, in audacity of assertion.

It states that the consolidation would be "a clear advantage to all parts of the empire;" without giving any grounds for the opinion, in the case of Ireland at any rate.

It talks of relieving Ireland from a burthen which "experience had proved too great," and concludes by recommending a measure which put an end to that previous protection she had enjoyed from greater burthens!

It speaks of "rendering her sources more productive;" but we have seen that the means of so doing could not exist under the proposed arrangement, so far as change without lessening the gross amount of taxation was concerned; and as to the repeal of taxation, we shall have, at a future stage, to shew how disproportionate this has been, as compared with the relief accorded to Great Britain; and may content ourselves for the present with remarking, that, within a year from the time of the committee's report, no less than seventeen millions were struck off from the taxation of Great Britain; whereas ten years elapsed ere the relief to Ireland exceeded half a million!

The originators of the consolidation act took no account of the defenceless state in which they were about to place the country they pretended to relieve. Even were she really relieved by that measure, where was her guarantee for the duration of the relief? Whensoever the British parliament chose, they were thenceforth to have it in their power to re-impose old, or invent new burthens for Ireland; all limitation to her liabilities being done away with.

Even the distant hope given her by the fifth section of the seventh article of the Union, that in the event of her resources becoming abundantly productive, her taxes might be lightened by the amount of surplus revenue thereby created, or that amount might be applied to local improvements, was now to be utterly destroyed, as she could never more have surplus revenue, until the whole of the enormous and monstrous debt of Great Britain should be liquidated; that debt, amongst other things, being "rendered common" by the consolidation act.

The reader is now referred back to the petition with which this acticle commences ; and if he have followed our arguments, he will see that we have established the propositions contained in the five first paragraphs of that petition.

Refer-
ence to
petition
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proved.

Their necessary consequence is, that the consolidation act was a breach of the articles of Union.

What was done being thus unconstitutional, as well as unjust, it remains to be seen what ought to have been done in 1816. Our answer is, the unanimously condemned rates of contribution ought to have been altered ; and Ireland should not only have her rate lowered, but she ought to have been relieved from the unjust excess of increase of her debt. There was a difficulty indeed in the way of revision ; inasmuch as the Act of Union ordained that twenty years should pass without revision, or any alteration, unless the contingencies under which consolidation was to be effected, should occur in the interval. But when a greater difficulty, viz., that of carrying the consolidation against the spirit and meaning of the Act of Union, was so little thought of, a less degree of boldness would have sufficed to get over that which we have mentioned. It was a plain and, only too probably, a wilful defect in the Union arrangements, that an earlier period for revision had not been provided. However, if this difficulty were insurmountable, very little additional mischief to the empire would have resulted from letting matters go on as they were, until the regularly fixed period of revision had arrived, viz., the year 1820. The war with France was over, and the general expenditure had, even in the year 1815, diminished. The general expenditure for 1814 was £132,748,000. In 1815, it fell to £122,604,000, being a diminution of £10,144,000. In 1816 it again fell and was only £94,798,000, being £27,806,000 less than the preceding year ; and in 1817 there was a further decrease of £26,000,000, the expenditure that year being only £68,710,000. After that year up to 1820, the expenditure remained about the same

What
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have been
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1816.

amount. From 1814, therefore, there was an aggregate decrease of £64,000,000; and from the period when the consolidation of the exchequers was debated, namely, just after the finance amounts for the year ending 5th January, 1816, had been presented, there was a nett decrease of £53,000,000. This would, of course, have lessened the amount of exactions from Ireland, although they still would have been most oppressive. But the fact is, a revision ought to have been specially enacted, under the extraordinary circumstances of the case.

Evil consequences to Ireland of the Consolidation Act of 1816.

We now come to the consequences of the Consolidation. It was professed to be a measure of relief to Ireland, then groaning under grievous burthens. Let us see how far the facts have borne out the profession.

By the provisions of this act, not only were the exchequers consolidated, but all arrangements as to proportionate contributions were done away with; and both countries were in future to contribute simply as much as they could, by equal taxes, so far as that equality was possible. Ireland therefore was nominally to be relieved of the rate which had been confessed oppressive. A further benefit to her was to be the taking from off her shoulders of the whole amount of increase of her debt, between 1800 and 1817, viz., an increase represented by £2,860,050, increase of debt-charge. This was to be consolidated with the debt of Great Britain: a matter rendered the easier, as all the borrowings of Ireland since the Union had been in England. These two provisions comprised the benefits that Ireland was considered to receive from the consolidation of the exchequers; and were and have been loudly vaunted at the time, and subsequently down to the moment at which we are writing.

If, however, we can show that, although relieved from the pressure of an unjust increase of her original debt, she has been made responsible for, and to the utmost of her ability compelled to contribute to, the greatly superior original British debt; and if we further shew, that under

a strict interpretation of this boasted relief of Ireland by the assumption of her post-Union debt by Great Britain, the latter will yet be found to have in fact indemnified herself by exacting from Ireland two-twelfths of the general expenditure, instead of the condemned two-seventeenths; and again, that even supposing that post-Union debt was not at all taken off the shoulders of Ireland, but shared between the two countries according to the Union proportions, that under even such an arrangement, the payments exacted from Ireland to the general expenditure will be found to have been, on an average, equal to the said *condemned* proportion of two-seventeenths,—then, in the case of establishing those facts, we shall leave little pretence of benefit to Ireland from the measure of the consolidation of the exchequers. All that then can remain for the advocates of the latter measure, will be to show, if they can, that the unfairness of those proceedings has been compensated for to Ireland by remission of taxation greater than what was conceded to Great Britain. On this, too, we shall endeavour to meet, and trust utterly to rout them.

To see if fact and reason justify us in our first position, viz.—that Ireland is made responsible for the British debt—that is, the British original, as we have called it, or ante-Union debt,—let the reader peruse the following statement:—

Annual charge of the British debt con- tracted before the Union, ...	}	£17,718,851	Par. Pa- per 35 of 1819.
Ditto, ditto of the Irish debt, similarly contracted, ...			
	}	1,244,463	
Excess of British liability, ...		£16,474,388	

Now what is the amount of the exclusive taxation of Great Britain?—Its items are: 1st, the income tax; 2nd, the land and assessed taxes; and 3rd, a portion of the excise duties. The income tax may be taken in round numbers as six millions. Of this, although nominally an exclusively British tax, a portion is being wrung from Ire-

land. We do not speak of payments by absentees, as this latter contingent will better come under consideration in another form. But officers on half-pay, widows receiving government pensions, clerks in certain public offices, &c., in Ireland, have been subjected to it. There are at present no *data* for calculating how much has been squeezed out of the scanty means of these parties. But the amount cannot at any rate be less than what would balance any small remaining inequality between the Irish and British stamp duties—and so we are saved going into the minute details which these opposing credits would require.

Land and assessed taxes produced £4,489,806. Some small items of excise are untaxed in Ireland, and on home-spirits the English duty is about double that in Ireland.

Ireland's exemption, however, is greater in appearance than in reality; as she imports certain quantities of these articles from Great Britain; and on several of them is charged by the exporter at least a portion of the duty, although on exportation he received back from the government the entire of the duty originally paid by him. Therefore the nett amounts for Great Britain, and not the gross receipts, are to be taken into account. These can be at once stated for the greater part of the articles, as all that is required is, to take them from the details of excise in the finance accounts. There is more difficulty about home-spirits—from the circumstances of some duty* being upon them in Ireland—although less in amount than the British. On this article, the British payments are £4,035,914; and the Irish, £1,005,858, leaving, of course, a great excess of British receipt. But all this excess is not veritable "*exclusive*" taxation.

Both the greater population and wealth of Great Britain ought, generally speaking, to be taken into account, in

* In the calculation that follows, we take no account of the increase of the Irish spirit-duties in 1842, as that addition was taken off early last session, because, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer confessed, it was unproductive.

Were it taken into account, it would, of course, be an advantage to us in this calculation.

comparisons between her and Ireland. Spirits, however, being an article, the consumption of which is little affected by a greater or lesser degree of wealth, a comparison between the two countries in this respect will embrace only the proportion of their respective populations. So much then of the excess of British payments as may be fairly referable to her greater amount of population, must first be deducted from her stated amount paid, before the latter is brought into contrast with the payments of Ireland. The proportion of population for Great Britain as compared with Ireland, is about three to one, but the blessed spread of tee-totalism in the latter country, raises it much in practical effect. Taking, however, this proportion, the payments of Great Britain on an equal amount of the spirit duties as Ireland, must be three millions; and therefore what she pays exclusively under this head cannot exceed one million.

Having now got all the figures for our calculation, we proceed to set them out in due order.

Real exclusive Taxation of Great Britain, year, 1842.

Income tax,	...	...	...	£6,000,000
Land and assessed taxes,	...	...	...	4,482,806
<i>Excise, viz.</i>				
Bricks, (nett payments,)	...	£393,050		
Post-horse duty and licences,		179,456		
Soap,	...	828,003		
Spirits,	...	1,000,000		
				<hr/>
				2,400,509
				<hr/>
			Total,	£12,890,315
				<hr/>

But we have seen that her exclusive liability was—	16,474,388	
Subtract exclusive taxation,	...	12,890,305
		<hr/>
Remain	...	£3,584,083
from the exclusive burthen of which she exonerates herself.		

Exclusive
payments
by Great
Britain,
1842.

Wrongful
exemption
of
herself.

Should errors be in this calculation, they will not be found *against* England. Her payments are considerably

over rather than *under*-stated ; and the calculation is, on the whole, quite sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

To this sum of £3,584,083, it is most unjust to make Ireland contribute. It could only be just, were the consolidation of 1816 a justifiable measure. We have seen that the contrary is the case ; and we shall presently prove, that in none of the consequences of the consolidation has been anything to palliate in the slightest degree, but much to aggravate the injustice of that measure to Ireland. This unfair liability is one of those consequences ; and most grievous it has proved, and must ever prove.

Wrongful
exaction
from Ire-
land.

To find out its probable amount in money, we shall take Sir Robert Peel's estimate of our ability, as given in his taxing-scheme in the session of 1842 ; £410,000 on stamps and spirits he considered an equivalent for the £3,770,000, British income tax. Without delaying now to consider the justice of the estimate, we take this proportion of one to nine, and thus find that we are defrauded this year of £398,231. The very first step of financial justice should be to relieve us of taxation, to that amount at least—to say nothing of the arrears due to us, for greater frauds of a similar nature in many preceding years.

But in any "settlement of the account" between the two nations, these arrears must come into consideration. A brief statement of them can be given here.

The only differences in the estimate for 1841, of any consequence, are, the omissions of the Income Tax and the Irish Stamp Additions—these imposts only dating from the following year. The income tax being £6,000,000, and the new Irish stamp duties having given about £170,000, it follows that a clear deduction from Great Britain's account for 1842-3, must be made, to the amount of £5,800,000 in round numbers, which would shew *her separate payments* in 1841-2, short of *her separate liabilities* by £9,384,388. Of this sum of £9,384,388, Ireland was wrongfully compelled to bear part to her utmost ability.—

This, according to Sir Robert Peel, being as one to nine, she was, in 1842, robbed of £1,040,437!

The aggregate amount in which she has been defrauded since, and in consequence of the Union, should here be shewn; and accordingly we proceed to attempt it. First must be stated what Great Britain *ought* to have paid by her exclusive taxation; and, secondly, how much she actually did pay.

We have seen that by the Act of Union, each country was, until the exchequers, &c. should be consolidated, to defray separately the charge of its own debt, contracted previously to the Union, or to use the readiest and briefest designation, its own *ante*-Union debt. Also to contribute separately, in certain relative proportions, to the common expenditure; that is to say, the expenditure clear of the charges of the two debts above specified.

The general provision as to future borrowings was, that all charges connected with them should form part of the common expenditure; but with an exception to the effect, that if one country proved better able to meet its proportion of contribution by annual taxation, than the other, the borrowings by both should necessarily continue separate charges on both, in the same way as their *ante*-Union borrowings were enacted to be.

Under these arrangements Great Britain had to meet the following liabilities:—

First: The charge of her own *ante*-Union debt.

Second: The charge of her debt separately contracted in the period between the Union and the consolidation. This separate charge upon her was caused by the inevitable distinctness of the borrowings of the two countries, owing to the inability of Ireland to pay her rate of contribution by taxation.

British
liabilities
during
those
years.

Third: The 15–17ths proportion fixed at the Union for British payments to the common expenditure.

Fourth: And as the consolidation was an illegal measure, she should, after 1816, have continued to pay under

the three preceding heads, up to the present time. A revision of the Union rates would, no doubt, have altered the proportions; but, *according to the ministerial confessions in 1816, (quoted before,) such alteration should have been in favour of Ireland.*

First from
1800 to
the Con-
solida-
tion.

Before stating these liabilities in figures, it is to be premised that no cavil can possibly be made to the foregoing enunciation of them, for, at any rate, the sixteen years between the Union and the consolidation. The Act of Union itself is the authority for them during those years, with the most pertinacious upholder of the legality and propriety of the Act of Consolidation. It may, therefore, prove more convenient in discussion, if we first consider the liabilities and payments of Great Britain, during the universally acknowledged period of the Union arrangements, viz., from 1800 up to 1817; and afterwards take the period from 1817 to the present time.

The total expenditure of the two countries from 1800, to 1817, will be found (from the annual finance accounts) to have amounted to the sum of £1,182,924,986

The charges for the ante-Union debts of both countries were on 5th January, 1801,*
Great Britain, £17,700,000
Ireland, 1,240,000

Total, £18,940,000

Which, multiplied by 16,
amounted in the aggregate
to £303,040,000

Had Ireland been able to meet, by the proceeds of her taxation, the exactions imposed upon her by the Union-rate of contribution,

* The date, "5th January, 1801," given above, is by no means that at which a rightful estimate of the ante-Union liabilities of Ireland is to be made. For such an estimate the 5th of January, 1800, is, as Mr. O'Connell has always upheld, the rightful period. During the course of the year 1800, there were most unjust additions made to the Irish debt; and on a settlement of the account, the sum of these additions should be struck off. We, however, allow them to stand in the present calculation, because our endeavour is, to prove our opponents wrong, even upon their own shewing, and granting them several of their most unwarrantable assumptions.

the sum we have just mentioned should be the only deduction from the sum of 16 years, total expenditure, in order to get the net sum of *common* expenditure. But clause 6 of article 7 of the Act of Union, provided for the contingency that actually occurred—namely, that owing to her inability to pay in annual taxes, she had to have recourse to loans, distinct from the loan-operations of Great Britain. Clause 6, provided that such loans should be separately defrayed. We must therefore deduct the *whole* amount of debt payments in the two countries, during the 16 years in question, before we get at what really was the nett *common* expenditure.

The finance class-accounts give us these whole payments for the 16 years, viz: ...	... 393,850,000
which deducted from the total of all kinds of expenditure, given before, leaves, as what we shall call nett common expenditure. ...	... 789,074,986

Two-seventeenths of this will be found to be 92,824,000*l.*, which was Ireland's Union-proportion, and the remainder will be Great Britain's, 15-17ths, = 696,250,986*l.* It is not however mere *separate* liability, but *excess* of liability, that we are to consider—and therefore a further deduction equivalent to the amount of Ireland's *separate* liability must be made. The British excess will then be 13-17ths, or

... £603,426,986
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To this we have to add the amount in the same number of years, of her excess on the whole amount of her debt-charge, over the Irish debt-charge. The calculation would have been merely on that portion of the debt-charge which existed before the Union, had the subsequent debt been jointly contracted; but, as before stated, that was prevented by the financial weakness of Ireland. By House of Commons' return, No. 35, of 1819, we find that the charges on British debt, funded and unfunded, amounted, from 1801 to 1817, to the gross sum of £371,892,693, and Irish do. to 40,118,298*l.*, being an excess of

... 331,774,395	
-----------------	--

We thus have a total excess of British liabilities for those 16 years, amounting to

... £935,201,381	
------------------	--

Amount
of excess
of British
liabilities
up to
1817, (i.e.
over
Irish lia-
bilities).

Now what did Great Britain actually *pay*? We shall state it from an authority which will not be disputed by our opponents. They know well that Mr. Rice, the present Lord Monteagle, to whom we allude, is not one who would *understate* the case against the Repealers, and that his official connexion with the treasury, at the time the Repeal question first began to excite attention in parliament, gave him considerable advantage in making out his statements.

In the year 1834, he caused to be presented to the house several papers having relation to this subject, preparatory to the discussion on the Repeal of the Union, which took place in that year. A considerable deal of suspicion exists as to the accuracy and fairness of those papers; and in more than one instance their *inaccuracy* at least, has been distinctly proved. But, as we said before, we take them for the present as accurate, and trust, even upon their shewing, to prove that Great Britain, so far from exceeding her Union engagements, has considerably underpaid the proper and rightful amount of her separate liabilities.

Sessional paper, No. 194 of 1834, is that from which we shall quote at present. Account, No. 21, pages 26 and 27 of that paper, gives the "gross receipt on all articles charged with excise duties in Great Britain, which were not subject to duty in Ireland in each year since 1800." The gross amount up to, and inclusive of, 1816, will be found to be £108,400,000

Account No. 22, gives the " <i>difference</i> between excise taxation in the two countries" during a similar period, by which we find that up to the assimilation of rates on malt in 1815, Great Britain paid an excess of taxation, amounting to	29,250,000
On spirits she paid, up to 1816, about	42,000,000
On hides and skins, about	2,900,000
On auctions, paper, vinegar, &c, about	1,600,000
On glass bottles, about	1,500,000
Account No. 23, gives the gross receipt of "revenue under management of commissioners	

of taxes in Great Britain, 1801 to 1833, both inclusive." This account includes all species of what are specially called "*taxes*" in finance accounts, such as assessed taxes, land tax, income and property do., &c. &c.; and for sixteen years the amounts will be found to make 263,800,000*l.*, and the Irish being (according to account No. 24) 49,230,000*l.*; the latter sum deducted from the British, will give an excess of British payments of "*taxes*" in sixteen years,

214,570,000

Now in his speech on Wednesday, April 23, 1834, upon the "Repeal of the Union," Mr. Rice stated that the excess of customs' payments by Great Britain, for the thirty years since the Union, was 130,000,000*l.* and of stamp duties 106,000,000*l.*, making a total of 236,000,000*l.* for thirty-three years. The difference of customs' duties was chiefly before 1817, so up to that time we may take their product as

80,000,000

Stamps, in the 16 years,

53,000,000

Total exclusive payments by Great Britain in the sixteen years from the Union to the consolidation

£533,220,000

Her excess of payments over Irish ditto.

But we have seen that her exclusive liabilities for the same period were.. .. .

935,201,381

Deduct payments

533,220,000

Therefore she failed in providing by *annual taxation* for the sum of

£401,981,381

And having created debt in the interval to no higher amount than

280,000,000

she still left, as an unfair "*common*" charge

£121,981,381

Ireland was therefore unfairly made liable for 2-17ths of this amount, or

£14,350,744

Unfair liabilities thrown on Ireland up to 1817.

Thus we have a new feature of the iniquity of the consolidation. The bankruptcy of Ireland, which was the pretext for it, was greatly aided and brought about by this high amount of most unjustifiable exaction. The argument cannot be mistaken, nor disputed. Had Great Britain discharged, by separate taxation, or borrowing, all that was

separately due by her, these £121,000,000 would not have been thrown upon the common taxation. The latter then might have been lessened by their amount. Of that relief, Ireland's share would, of course, have been at least the £14,000,000 noted above; and so considerable a relief would have very materially lightened the ruinous pressure upon her resources, and enabled her to go on until the twenty years of the act of Union had elapsed, and the period of revision arrived in due course of law.

Having now ascertained the state of affairs during the sixteen years that the Union proportions were indisputably in operation, we come to the period subsequent, and up to the present time.

Progress
of this
injustice.

Our calculations will here require that the acknowledged injustice of the Union rates on Ireland, and consequent necessity of an alteration in her favour, shall be, for the present, omitted from consideration; and that we proceed to sum up the separate liabilities of Great Britain, from 1816 to the present time, as they would have stood had the financial arrangements of the Act of Union continued actually, as most undoubtedly they did *legally*, (that is, *legally*, according to the wording of the Act of Union itself—the measure of consolidation having been passed, as we have seen, in direct neglect and violation of the Union terms,) in force and operation.

This mode of considering the liabilities of Great Britain is, of course, the most favourable for her, and the least just towards Ireland, inasmuch as the latter was and is entitled to a revision of the Union rates in her favour, *and to credit* for what they have caused to be exacted and drained from her, over and above what her rightful contribution should have been.

We take matters in this way, because anxious to *show* that even giving our opponents the benefit of some of *their* main and most utterly ungrounded assertions and assumptions, Great Britain can be proved to have paid much less than she ought, in the way of separate taxation, instead of

having so enormously overpaid, as Mr. Rice laboured to demonstrate in the debate of 1834.

There having been a decrease of the amount of the united debt charges of both countries, since the consolidation up to the present time, we will give Great Britain the further advantage of supposing, for the present, that that decrease was altogether on her side of the account.* Its amount being nearly two millions, we subtract that from the sum of funded and unfunded British debt-charge as set down for the year 1816, ending 5th January, 1817, in the return we have already quoted (No. 35 of 1819). This brings the annual debt-charge of Britain down to £26,238,000; which, in twenty-six years up to the present time, would have amounted to £734,188,000. But as it is the excess of British liabilities, as well as of British payments, that we are seeking to give her credit for, we must subtract the Irish debt-charge during the twenty-six years.

Taking its annual amount at the statement for 1816, in the return quoted, we find it to have been in twenty-six years, £106,717,000; which would leave a British excess of debt-liabilities amounting to, £627,471,000

The "common" expenditure during those years amounted to £621,670,519, of which £73,107,708 being 2-17ths, and £548,522,811 being 15-17ths, the British excess (13-17ths) was 475,395,103

Total £1,102,866,103

To which add Great Britain's liabilities from 1801 to 1817, as given before 935,201,381

Total *exclusive* British liabilities, 42 years, £2,038,067,484

Her payments (*i. e. exclusive* payments,) during that period, were as follows :—

* Although this, and similar *suppositions*, for the sake of argument, will, we are well aware, be taken as *admissions* by our opponents, yet we make them, in order to avoid protracted discussion on comparatively unimportant points, being at the same time perfectly ready to contest them afterwards.

According to Lord Mont-
eagle, in 1834, they had
amounted, up to that year,
to £1,096,463,472

We have seen that in the
years 1841 and 1842 they
amounted to the gross sum
of 23,311,176

We want then only their
amount in the seven years,
from 1834 (*inclusive*) to
1840, to complete the state-
ment. An examination of
the returns bearing on this
subject (the latest of them is
No. 279, of 1842) will most
abundantly justify our say-
ing, that on the whole, (with-
out going into minute and
intricate detail,) the British
exclusive payments, during
those seven years, were less
than in 1841. But for argu-
ment's sake, taking them at
8 millions, we have to add
the gross sum of 56,000,000
making a total of British
payments, by taxation, of .. £1,175,774,648

Taking the highest possi-
ble amount of the creation
of debt by Great Britain,
we have a further sum of,
say 290,000,000

Total of
the defi-
ciency of
British
exclusive
payments
since
Union,
and of
Irish un-
fair liabi-
lity in
conse-
quence.

Total exclusive payment by her in 42 years £1,465,774,648

which fell short of her liabilities in the sum of £572,292,836

This sum has therefore fallen upon the *common* contri-
butions; and the result to Ireland has been, that she has
had to pay to a standard of taxation, aggravated by the
above amount. Had the Union terms, bad as they were,
been faithfully observed, no part of the above would have
been defrayed out of taxes bearing equally on Ireland as on
Great Britain; and therefore the *common* taxation could

have been reduced so much. Ireland's share of this relief would have been 2-17ths, or £67,328,564;* and to this extent (aggravated, of course, by the sums that must be due as interest and compound interest) she has been defrauded by Great Britain.

And this upon the most favourable statement of the case for the latter country, and grossly *unfavourable* statement for Ireland!

It is nothing to say in answer to this, that Ireland failed in supplying her pecuniary quota under the Union arrangements. In the first place, they were confessed to have been too high; and *consequently the quota for Great Britain must have been too low*. And had Ireland not been overstrained in her resources, by what we have seen to have been a most unduly extended scale of taxation, she might have discharged all *just* obligations. But the fact is, that whatever may have been her defaultings previous to 1817, she has since the consolidation, which came into force in that year, been compelled to pay, on an average, what was at the least equivalent to the confessedly unjust Union rate of 2-17ths of common expenditure; and her having paid that proportion, is a decisive proof of the inefficacy *for good* of the measure of consolidation: for *it professed to relieve her from that unjust rate*—whereas, in reality, she had afterwards to pay it, as we shall see—and did so pay it, *not in consequence of greater financial ability*, but from the accidental circumstance, that the imperial expenditure became reduced so considerably, as that the *post-1816* exactions from Ireland amounted to the proportion of 2-17ths of its sum.

Having now, we trust, completely demolished all argu-

* The sixty-seven millions of relief of taxation of which we have shewn Ireland to have been defrauded, up to the present time, under the Union arrangements, must of course be increased in amount by a third, or more, if we consider the interest and compound interest annually accruing. Thus, *on this score alone*, we can, if we choose to insist on it, when the two countries come to draw stakes, reduce the pretended 112 millions of debt of Ireland in 1816-17 to 30 millions: and even then it would be a question whether we were doing justice to ourselves.

Details of the practical injustices of the consolidation act.

ment from the separate taxation of Great Britain—an argument on which Mr. Rice, in 1834, and all his imitators and followers since, put great reliance—we proceed to shew, in as accurate detail as possible, the practical working of the consolidation act.

We have, by the calculations just concluded, established the fact of Ireland's having been made to bear the burden of part of Great Britain's debt. There remains to be established the fact of her undue contributions to the expenditure, clear of the charge of the two debts.

Preliminary remarks on Irish uncredited taxation.

Before laying this branch of our subject open, it is necessary to explain the grounds on which we shall claim an amount additional on the annual stated revenues of Ireland, under the title of uncredited taxation.

Ireland has for many years received a large proportion of her consumption of foreign articles through English ports, instead of directly into her own ports. The consequence has of course been, that the amount of duty being paid in England, is credited to the British revenue, while it is, in fact, an *Irish* contribution to the state taxes. To enter into minute detail on this point would be of small advantage, if even possible, through the mass of difficulty in the way, occasioned mainly by the shifting regulations that have affected those articles.

A return was moved for last session of parliament, (Acct. No. 6, of Paper No. 305, of 1842,) that was expected to bring out something like accurate data for the computation of this uncredited revenue of Ireland; but the following note prefixed to it by the officer in whose department it was prepared, will shew how impossible it is, to make even what might be considered a distant approach towards accuracy:

The deficiencies in this statement are ascribable—first, to the imperfect provision in Ireland for separate registration of foreign imports through Great Britain; a cause the operation of which affects the whole period prior to 1819; and, secondly, to the absolute want of any record of the trade of the two countries since 1825.

Under these circumstances, it would be but waste of time to attempt to particularize. We shall therefore seek to give the reader no more than a general idea on this subject, and refer him chiefly to adverse authorities. The late Lord Congleton, well known to be an anti-repealer, and one who, in his work on financial reform, laboured hard to cut the ground from under the repealers, was obliged to admit that the amount uncredited to Ireland of her contributions to the general taxes, was at least an annual £300,000.

He made, however, a gross error in this calculation; as at the time he wrote the foregoing, Irish tea duties, to the amount of between £400,000 and £500,000 were paid in British ports, and ought therefore to have been added to the sum he mentioned; making it £700,000 instead of £300,000.

There was, further, the benefit to the British exchequer from the expenditure of the absentee rents—an amount that can only be guessed at. The absentee drain is computed

variously, by various authorities; all, however, concurring in shewing a ruinous increase of the drain since the Union.

The committee "on the circulating paper, specie, current coin of Ireland, and exchanges between her and Great Britain," which sat in 1804, (report reprinted 1810, and numbered 18 of that year) estimated it at £2,000,000. Mr.

Alderman Hayes, in his excellent speech at the repeal discussion of the Cork corporation, April, 1843, remarked:

"In 1825, the absentee drain, according to the Edinburgh Review, was £3,500,000. In 1827, Lord Cloncurry put it down at £4,000,000; and in 1828, Mr. Nicholas Philpot Leader, a very accurate statist, estimated it at the same; a later authority estimates it at £4,650,000 annually."

Taking these figures, which are corroborated by other authorities, there must have been, when Lord Congleton wrote, over four millions going away annually to absentees.

Of this sum 5-6ths, at least, were spent in Great Britain; and taking the per-centage of benefit to the exchequer of the latter country on that expenditure, even so low as four per cent, we have £130,000 to add to Lord Congleton's

estimate of uncredited taxation; making the latter (taking the *tea duties* also,) £850,000—to which add an average sum of about £65,000 quit and crown rents; (see paper No. 222 of 1842,) making in all 915,000 annually; for which Ireland got no more credit than did the island of Japan. Nay, as we have before remarked, these very payments went to increase the apparently enormous disparity between the revenue of Great Britain and her own; and thereby to subject her to an insulting and unjust comparison; to a pitiless increase of taxation, whenever it might please Great Britain to put it on; and finally, to a denial of a fair share of the remission of taxes.

General
estimates
of her
uncred-
ited tax-
ation.

We do not mean to say that this was the average amount of her uncredited payments since 1817. Our case would be injured by exaggeration. When tea was allowed to pay duty in Irish ports, the £400,000 or £500,000 upon it ceased to be an uncredited payment, and went directly to swell the Irish revenue. But we contend that Lord Congleton understated the amount, exclusive of the tea-duties. A writer who wrote in his spirit, viz.—that of endeavouring to show that Ireland had rather been treated with indulgence than with injustice in financial matters,—Mr. William Stanley, in his *Facts for Ireland*,—a work composed directly to win a prize, promised some years ago by Lord Cloncurry, to any person who should make out the best case against the assertions of the advocates of Repeal, found himself compelled to admit, that this uncredited taxation of Ireland was £340,000 annually—thus exceeding the estimate of Lord Congleton by about one-eighth. And he, like the nobleman just named, omitted the tea-tax, then paid in British ports, the per-centage of benefit on absentee expenditure, and the quit and crown rents.

But the reader can, to some extent, form a judgment for himself, of the uncredited taxation under the head of customs' duties alone, by simply turning to the finance accounts of the year, and comparing the details of receipts on customs, in Great Britain and Ireland respectively. He will there see, on articles of common consumption in

both countries, the Irish duties' receipt so low sometimes as £20, £10, and even 30s., while British receipts amount to many thousands. If the small Irish receipts really represented Irish consumption, then would there be a most triumphant argument against taxing Ireland equally with Great Britain, or in a rate at all approaching to equality. But the fact is, they do not really represent it; but the surplus consumed in Ireland, over what they represent, is imported from England, and duty paid on it there, to the benefit of the English exchequer, and the detriment of the Irish.

Sugar, as well as tea, has sometimes been charged in the Irish schedule of customs' receipts, and sometimes in the British. At this moment a portion of payments upon its Irish consumption is made in Great Britain; as we import from thence all the refined sugar that we consume, and some of the raw sugar. Taking all these various matters into consideration, we do not fear that the slightest charge of exaggeration at least can be made against us, if we assume the uncredited taxation of Ireland to have amounted to an average sum of £400,000.

Having now cleared away the necessary preliminary matter, we proceed to show what Ireland has paid since 1816 up to, and including, 1843;—

Average British Income, 26 yrs.	Average Irish Income, do.	United Expenditure.	Charge of United Debts.
£ 49,942,791	£ 4,516,019	£ 53,276,315	£ 29,365,911

From the British income, £400,000 uncredited payments by Ireland are to be deducted, and to be added to the Irish income. The account will then stand thus:—

Average, for 26 years, up to 1843, of

British Income.	Irish Income.	United Expenditure.	Do. Charge of Debt.
£ 49,542,791	£ 4,916,019	£ 53,276,315	£ 29,365,911

Proof of
unjust ex-
tortions
from Ire-
land since
the con-
solidation.

Now, if the boast of the defenders of England's policy, who assert that she, at the consolidation of the exchequer, did *bona fide* take on her shoulders the unjust increase of the Irish debt, be allowed, it will follow that Ireland must have had *only* her Union-amount of debt to provide for ever since, viz.—an annual charge of £1,240,000.* This, subtracted from her average of income, will be found to leave a surplus of the latter to the amount of 3,776,000*l.*, which has gone to England as the Irish contribution to the common expenditure. The amount of that common expenditure can be found by subtracting the average united charge of debts from the average united total expenditure, and to the sum so found, viz. 23,910,404*l.*, the Irish contribution does not, indeed, bear the condemned proportion of two-seventeenths; but it does bear the far higher and more grievous proportion of nearly two-twelfths. Thus, in this first case, Ireland has had no real relief; as, although no longer called upon to pay to an amount of debt confessed to be unjust, her rate of contribution in other ways has been increased and forced up to the very uttermost point that it could possibly be raised to. We take the second case now, viz., that of an arrangement and apportionment between the two countries of the increase of the Irish debt. It is here necessary to compare the increase in both countries, taking their debts, as we said before, to be most conveniently represented by the annual charge in each case.

The annual charge on the British debt in 1801, was £17,718,851. And on 5th January, 1817; when the consolidation took place, it was £28,258,416, which was an increase of 59 per cent.

The annual charge on the Irish debt in 1801, was £1,244,463. And at the consolidation it was £4,104,514, being 228 per cent. increase.

* Here again the reader will perceive we are taking the unfair statements of 1801, for the amounts respectively of British and Irish debt, instead of the fairer statements of the beginning of the year 1800. But our endeavour is, to beat our opponents on their own grounds.

This disproportionate increase was on all hands confessed to have been caused by the unfair rate of contribution imposed on Ireland by the Union, and therefore was an unfair increase. Had her debt increased only in the same ratio as that of Great Britain, the debt-charge would not have been more than £1,978,659, leaving an excess of £2,125,855, which is the amount of the *totally* unjustifiable increase of Irish debt. If, instead of consolidation in 1817, the Union-rates had been continued, and the above unjust increase of the Irish debt had been put on the two countries in the proportion of those rates, the result would have been as follows :—

Debt-charge, Ireland, at Union, was ..	£1,244,463
Added 67 per cent. increase up to 1817, ..	734,196
Further additions 2-17ths of the unfair excess of increase,	250,100
<hr/> Total debt-charge, Ireland, ..	<hr/> £2,228,759
But the imperial debt-charge in 1817, was ..	£31,680,000
And is now no more than	29,450,144
<hr/> Therefore there has been a reduction of	<hr/> £2,229,856
Of which Ireland ought to have 2-17ths to her credit; viz. £262,336: which sum sub- tracted from her charge as stated just now, reduces the latter to	£1,966,923
To which 2-17ths of the common expenditure, (viz. £23,910,404,)	2,812,988
<hr/> Total average expenditure of Ireland, 26 years,	<hr/> £4,779,911

This sum, subtracted from her income before stated, viz. 5,016,019*l.*, leaves as surplus of the latter, 236,108*l.*

Now, the surplus of the united income of the two countries; on an average of 26 years to the present time, over the average for the same period, of united expenditure, was £1,282,485; therefore the surplus just stated in the case of Ireland, has borne the high proportion to that of Great Britain, of *one to four*!

Unlimited
power of
exaction
from Ire-
land in
conse-
quence of
that mea-
sure.

We trust we have shewn what we proposed to do in this branch of our subject ; and demonstrated beyond the power of cavil, that in whatever light we view the financial arrangements at the consolidation, their result has not been to *diminish* the *measure* of the exactions from Ireland. The power that act gave, of drawing indiscriminate contributions from Ireland, has caused every shilling of her revenues, after payment of her debt-charge, and the extremely reduced local expenditure of Government, to be drawn away to England. And the same power would equally cause the abstraction from Ireland of every farthing of additional revenue that could at any time accrue ; Ireland being, by the consolidation, pledged in all her resources, present and future, and mortgaged in every acre, for the enormous amount of the English national debt. Until the latter be paid off, not one penny can Ireland (under the present imperial arrangements) expend upon purposes of her own ; no matter though her revenues were to become tenfold, or twentyfold more fruitful than they are at present.

Why she
has not
sunk un-
der those
exactions.

We have before remarked, that the payment by Ireland, since 1816, of at least 2-17ths of the *common* expenditure, and we may add here, even the payment of 2-12ths, as in the first case in the calculation just concluded was shewn, will furnish no argument against us, drawn from any supposed increase of her liability. As we said before, we repeat, that her being able to pay such high proportions was the simple consequence of the immense reduction of expenditure since the war. We have alluded to this reduction before ; and therefore need now only add, that the calculations which were put forward at the time of the consolidation, to show the inability of Ireland, were made upon an expenditure which, though somewhat reduced from that of preceding years, was still (according to the finance accounts just then presented, for the year in which that measure passed, viz. the year 1816) 122,604,986*l.* ; an amount that in the succeeding year was found to have

fallen nearly twenty-eight millions ; and the year after to have further fallen twenty-six millions. And even the exaggerated expenditure of the year 1842, has been no higher than fifty-five millions—thus shewing a total reduction of expenditure since the year 1815, of no less than sixty-six millions.

Had the proposers of the consolidation been really disposed to act fairly towards Ireland, they ought, at the least, to have given her one year's trial under the system of extensive reduction of expenditure. But the plain fact and truth would seem to be, that they were afraid to give Ireland any opportunity of escaping the tremendous liabilities with which they were about to saddle her. And this feeling and motive of theirs, were rendered the more active just then, as the united clamour of the people of England and Scotland compelled ministers to give up in that year the property tax, which Mr. Rice (Lord Monteagle) himself estimated to have been a relief of 14,617,823*l.*, and the malt war-duties, which from his returns would appear to have been a further relief of about 2,400,000*l.*—making altogether seventeen millions, which were taken off the people of Great Britain in the year 1816 ! An additional reason was thus supplied to get, by one means or the other, the security of the resources of Ireland to the public creditor of Great Britain ; and the consequence to the former country has been, as we have before remarked, that no matter though her revenues were to become ten-fold or twenty-fold more fruitful than they are at present, not one tax can she take off or reduce, by means of a surplus, in any year : all such surplus must go to England, there to be applied to the payment of the enormous, and for the greater part, *rightfully exclusive*, liabilities of the latter.

Further evidence of her unfair treatment.

The reader is now again referred back to the petition, at the commencement of this article ; when he will find that paragraph 6 has been proved.

Paragraph 7, as to the non-compensation of Ireland, by means of remission of taxation, is the next point in issue.

The details will be found in parliamentary paper 305 of 1842, (continuing former returns,) and the totals in paper No. 573 of 1843, as follows:—

Relief of Taxation from 1815 to 1843.

Disproportionate relief of taxation.	Great Britain,	£45,550,000
	Ireland,	2,400,000
	Excess of British relief, ..	£43,150,000

Taxes imposed from 1815 to 1843.

Great Britain,	£10,620,000
Ireland,	1,060,000*

Taxes from 1800 to 1815.

Great Britain,	£30,000,000
Ireland,	4,450,000

Total Taxes imposed from the Union to 1843.

Great Britain,	£37,000,000
Ireland,	5,560,000

Thus the relief given to Ireland was to that of Great Britain as one to eighteen; while her share of the taxes imposed has been higher than as one to seven!

The exemption of Ireland from assessed taxes has been much spoken of; but the fact is, that these taxes were taken off her, solely because they were failing of production. The last receipt on them was under 300,000*l.*; and notices to discontinue objects of this taxation were yearly increasing. From 1816 to 1820 these notices were (by parliamentary papers 258 of 1816, and 142 of 1819) as follows:—

Carriages.	Horses.	Servants.	Hearths & Windows.	Dogs.	Packs of Hounds.
5,584	4,031	1,806	66,440	2,038	4

and from the paper before referred to, viz., No. 305 of 1842, we find that Great Britain relieved herself under this head to a much greater amount, viz.:—

* The abandoned spirit-duty is, of course, deducted from the 1815-43 amount of Irish taxes imposed.

Assessed taxes, Ireland, reduced 1818, ...	£240,090
Do. do. repealed 1816 to 1823,	296,000
Total relief under these heads to Ireland,	£536,090
Assessed taxes, Great Britain, reductions since 1816, ...	£2,584,514
Total repeals of various kinds since 1823, ...	2,594,688
Total relief to Great Britain ...	£5,179,202

Referring once more to the taxation petition of the Repeal Association, it will be seen that we have now substantiated all the statements in it, respecting which there is any considerable amount of controversy. On the subject of the *drains* from Ireland there is less dispute; that is, with regard to their *existence*—the latter being acknowledged by all; while their operation for *evil* to Ireland is, strange to say, denied by some.

Reference again to the petition before given.

Mr. Alderman Hayes, (of Cork,) before quoted, has stated the absentee drain at £4,650,000 per annum. No previous or subsequent estimate, whether by repealer or anti-repealer, places it lower than, at the least, four millions.

The “revenue drain” varies in amount from year to year, with occasional great disparity. The greater or less consumption, in one year, as compared with another, of foreign goods imported into Ireland through England, affects that portion of our revenue drain, which we have denominated “uncredited revenue”—*i. e.* duty paid on the goods in question by the Irish importers—*paid in England* and credited to the *British* exchequer; whereas, being money coming from Ireland, and paid out of Irish pockets, it ought to be credited to her account of state contributions. This uncredited revenue we have elsewhere averaged at a low estimate of £4,00,000 per annum.

Revenue drain.

A varying, but always a large proportion is drained away to England. We give an average calculation for the last three years :—

The income of Ireland, <i>as credited in the public accounts</i> , averaged in those years about	£4,160,000
Her expenditure, <i>as paid out of the exchequer</i> , and including the charge for so much of the united debt as is held in Ireland, (see sessional papers, 305, of 1842, and 74 of the present session,) was, <i>on the same average</i> ,	£3,183,163
The charges of collection and other charges out of the income in progress to the exchequer, were,	570,000
Making together,	3,753,163

Remain what was sent to England, viz., £406,837

This amount, of course, does not include the *uncredited taxation*, estimated by no one as *less* than the same amount, and by some as more than *double*. Taking the lowest estimate, Ireland must have lost, in the last three years, more than £1,200,000 out of her revenue, and England got the benefit of it, in addition to the other Irish out-goings that are to her advantage. The only remaining item of "*drain*" is the money Ireland pays for such manufactures imported, as her poverty has caused her to cease supplying herself with. This cannot but be more than two millions of money, at the very least; and, therefore, the total annual drain from Ireland can in no case be taken at less than seven millions.*

The severity of the revenue drain alone is shown beyond contradiction by another return in the paper 305 of 1842, so often quoted:—

Remittances of public money to and from the Irish and British exchequers, from 1800 up to 1842.

From the Irish to the British exchequer,	£25,995,453
From the British to the Irish exchequer,	7,495,862
Excess of Irish remittances,	£18,499,591

* It will be observed here, as in other parts of this article, that we are scrupulous in *understating*, rather than fully stating our case.

We shall be caught up here with the remark, that Ireland is bound to contribute to the *general, imperial*, expenditure, as well as to defray the expenses of her local government. This we never meant to deny, nor even to omit acknowledging.

But the question is, what *rightfully* should the proportion be, of her *general* contribution? Is it that which exists, or should it be greater or less?

We have shewn, in treating of the evil consequences of the consolidation act, that the existing rate of Ireland's contribution is limited only by the measure of her ability. Land and assessed taxes, and the differential excise duties, would exist in Ireland were she able to bear them. The land tax it was never pretended could be put upon her. The assessed taxes had to be taken off, by reason of their unproductiveness. The excise duties have not been thoroughly equalized, from the example of the failure of the results of equalization in other cases. The income tax Ireland was exempted from by Sir Robert Peel, with the distinct and full confession, that such was the fiscal weakness of Ireland, that the income tax, if imposed upon her, *would not pay the costs of collection*. And that weakness he has since borne further, and most unwillingly, witness to, by abandoning, as a failure, the additional spirit duty, by which in 1842, he sought to *screw* some trifling increase of contribution out of her poverty.

The proportion of her fiscal ability to that of Great Britain, can be easily shewn, by comparing the respective payments of both, under the chief heads of revenue receipt. For this purpose we take the heads of customs, stamps, post-office, and excise, omitting so much of the latter item as is paid exclusively by England, viz.—£2,400,000 in round numbers.

<i>Revenue Receipts, Year 1842, ended 5th January, 1843.*</i>	
GREAT BRITAIN.	IRELAND.
Customs, £20,271,314	{ Credited, £2,221,404 Uncredited, } 278,500 about }
Stamps, 6,836,913	... 531,035
Post-office, 1,478,051	... 132,430
Excise, 10,700,000	... 1,300,000
£39,286,278	£4,463,369

This gives our ability about as *one to nine*, when compared to that of Great Britain.

The manner in which the English Chancellor of the Exchequer disposes of our Revenue, is a subject of curious remark.

<i>Expenditure of the United Kingdom, year ended 5th January, 1843.</i>	
GREAT BRITAIN.	IRELAND.
Civil list, annuities, pensions, salaries, allowances, diplomatic salaries and pensions, courts of justice, and miscellaneous charges on the consolidated fund, } £1,741,567	£586,909
Army, ... 5,050,421	937,500
Ordnance, ... 2,077,623	97,050
Miscellaneous, or annual grants, ... } 2,561,264	398,502
£11,430,865	£2,019,961

* The Finance Accounts for 1843 (year ended 5th January, 1844) not being yet out, we are constrained to use those of last year; but we confidently say that the general results will be found the same.

This makes our proportion of *payments (so far)* to those of Great Britain, higher than as *one to six*.

It will here be said that there are four important items of expenditure, in the finance accounts of the year we are quoting, viz, that ending the 5th January, 1843, which do not appear in the account of Irish expenditure for that year, from which we quote—viz., Paper, No. 74, of the present session. Those items were—

Navy	£6,640,163
Canada Insurrection	253,344
China Expedition	830,008
China and India (army, navy, and ord- nance services)	272,921
	<hr/>
	£7,996,436

But the £800,000 (even of our under-estimate) of revenue, the benefit of which we have said that Ireland loses, may be put down as a set-off on our side of the account. Adding then, the £7,996,436 to the British account before stated, and the £800,000 on the Irish side, we have, respectively,

For Great Britain,
£19,397,301

Ireland,
£2,820,000

This shews our proportion of payments, on the aggregate of *active* expenditure, to be to the British, at any rate considerably higher than as one to seven.

There is an apparent anomaly in stating Ireland's payments to the active expenditure as one to seven, while we have shewn her *ability* so low as one to nine. This however is simply because the amount of *active* expenditure of the empire is *not one-half* of the entire. The other description of expenditure is that required by the "*dead weight*," that is, by the debt and debt-charges of the two countries. When there is a surplus of the imperial revenue over the amount of active expenditure and debt-charges, a disbursement takes place on account of the debt

itself, for the reduction of the principal of it. But ordinarily, there is no such surplus, and accordingly, the "dead weight" expenditure is solely for the defraying of the *interest and charges* on the debts of both countries.

This was the case in 1842. The interest and charges of the united debts of the two countries (funded and unfunded) were, in that year, £29,428,120. Of this, £1,192,735 were charged on the revenues of Ireland, and £28,235,385 upon those of Great Britain.

We have before shewn that Ireland is made really *responsible*, to the full as much as England and Scotland, for the debt of the two latter, as well as for her own. The specification, therefore, of the small portion of the united debt-charge, which we have stated as apparently the sole liability in this respect to which she is subject, is really no more than the specification of the interest and charges on that portion of the united debts which is held by parties *in Ireland*. Convenience suggested, and has maintained, the practice of having disbursements on account of such portion, made on the spot *in Ireland*, out of the *Irish* revenue, ere any part of it goes over to the imperial exchequer.

This general liability of Ireland enables the Chancellor of the Exchequer to exercise a complete command over Irish monies to the very last shilling, and very last penny. *Convenience* guides him in the *disposition* of it. As it does so, with regard to the defraying debt-charge payable in Ireland, so does it with regard to the meeting the expenses of an active nature in that country. That is to say, all such expenses, when accidentally exaggerated, (as in the case of military expenses last year,) as well as when reduced, are defrayed with *Irish* monies, before any part of them goes over to the imperial exchequer.

The consequence of this is, as we have seen, that the payments of Ireland, under the important items of *active* expenditure we have given, are so high as one to seven. This, *notwithstanding that her fiscal ability is only as one to nine*, (as tested by the four most important heads of re-

venue in both countries,) she is enabled to pay, from the circumstance that when she is subjected to the over-proportion in these regards, no money of hers is applied to the *British debt-charge*.

Of course, in those years when the "active" expenditure in Ireland falls to its due proportion to that in Great Britain, Irish money is applied to *British debt-charge*. This application of it is one of the worst grievances of the act that consolidated the two exchequers, debts, &c., in 1816.

We have before proved the consolidation act illegal, and that therefore Ireland should not be called upon to pay one shilling towards British debt. As to her payments towards the active expenditure, we have seen that they were beyond her due proportion, as tested by her fiscal ability. In 1842 she paid too much by the difference between one-seventh and one-ninth of the British active payments. Great Britain, on the contrary, paid *too little*. Her *active* payments ought to have been so high, as that the sum we have set down for them in the table of expenditure already given, should have been nine times as great as that we have set down for Ireland. This would have brought matters to a proper equality. If this made the sum total of payments exceed the real wants of the empire, taxation should be reduced equally. But whatever might be done as to that, the excess of British debt-charge should no longer be allowed in any way, directly or indirectly, to inflame the liabilities of Ireland. Neither should one penny of Irish money go to England.

English revenue is not spent here; why then should *Irish* revenue be spent in England?

We are not denying that there might be *imperial* purposes *out of Ireland*, to which the latter ought to contribute. But those purposes are not English or Scotch, they are what their name indicates—belonging to the empire—such as expenses in foreign wars, and upon the colonies and dependencies in time of peace. With regard to the first, the consent of the Irish parliament should be

had to them, ere they would cause us any liability; and with that consent we, of course, would have no right to complain.*

With regard to expenses in time of peace in the colonies and foreign dependencies, we should not be liable to them, unless ensured *compensating advantages* of the most unequivocal kind.

In short, we advocate having the Irish revenue *spent* in Ireland. If the exigencies of the empire will not just now permit that taxation should be lightened, let England send over a large division of the fleet of the empire to our noble and secure harbours, and we will maintain it at our own cost: let other public establishments be apportioned between us in a similar manner; and thus, while we shall find great benefit and relief from having the money which is taken from us in taxes spent among us in public expenditure, instead of (as it now is) going to England, the United Kingdom will be in no way the loser; nor will the jealousy of the people of Great Britain be excited, as it naturally would be, if taxes were, however justly, taken off us, and left upon them.

The principle of an amicable financial arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland is contained in the foregoing. There would, undoubtedly, be a sacrifice on our part, of our claims of compensation for the forty-three years' robbery we have undergone; but if our Great Demand—that for legislative independence—were conceded, the generosity of Ireland would make all minor matters easy of settlement.

* It is evident that the interference of the Irish parliament would have been most useful in the case of the enormous Canada, China, and India expenses, to save Ireland from the unjust liability to them.

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In Scotland the number of Catholics and Protestant Dissent-

ers, have not been enumerated—all that is known with accuracy is, that the Presbyterians are by far the most numerous class of Christians in that country. In England the Catholics and the Protestant Dissenters have also not been enumerated with accuracy; but it is quite certain that the Episcopalian Protestants are in a decided majority. The only data, from which a comparative estimate of the Episcopalian Protestants and other Christians can be made in England, consists in this, that the churches of the Episcopalian, amount in round numbers to 11,000, and the Chapels and Meeting-houses of the Catholics and of the Protestant Dissenters, amount in round numbers to 9,000. This, as we have said, leaves a decided majority to the Episcopalian Protestants.

It should, however, be observed, that wherever there is a Catholic or Dissenting place of worship, there is certainly a congregation, because the chapel or meeting-house could not exist unless there were a congregation. It is not so, however, with the Protestant Episcopalian churches—very many of them were erected in ancient times, and in many places the congregations are totally disproportionate with the number of churches; but after every abatement that upon these facts can be made, it must be admitted that the Episcopalian Protestants form the majority of the Christians in England.

With respect to Ireland, an enumeration has been taken, and the relative numbers have been ascertained. The Episcopalian Protestants are found to be, in round numbers, eight hundred and fifty thousand, the Presbyterians, six hundred and fifty thousand, and the Catholics, six million five hundred thousand. Such were the relative proportions in 1831.

Under these circumstances the natural result would be, that the ecclesiastical state revenues should be appropriated in each country to the church of the majority of the inhabitants, and in England accordingly, these revenues are appropriated to the Protestant Episcopalian church, the church of the majority.

In Scotland also the ecclesiastical state revenues are, and ought naturally to be, applied to the sustentation of the Presbyterian church, being that of the majority of the Scottish people.

Upon the same principle it is perfectly clear that the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland ought to be applied to the church of the majority of the Irish people.

But in the government of Ireland every thing is anomalous.

The people of England would not endure that the ecclesiastical state revenues should be applied to the church of the minority.

The people of Scotland would not endure that the ecclesi-

ecclesiastical state revenues should be applied to the church of the minority.

But the people of Ireland are compelled to endure that the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland should be appropriated to the church of a very small minority of the Irish people.

This simple statement demonstrates at once the gross injustice done to the people of Ireland. It demonstrates that that equality which alone would constitute a real Union between the countries does not exist. It shows that the Episcopalians in England, and Presbyterians in Scotland, assume and enjoy a practical superiority over the Catholics in Ireland.

Your committee emphatically assert, that this is the master grievance—the most insulting injustice which Ireland sustains under the (so called) Union.

The people of Ireland demand the redress of this grievance in the first instance, and before any other. It is a grievance in which they will no longer acquiesce in silence. It is a declaration of the inferiority of the Irish people, to which they will no longer submit without remonstrance. It is a gross and odious insult, superinduced upon a glaring and palpable injustice. In short, a giant evil, not to be longer tolerated, without taking all legal and peaceable, and constitutional means to procure legislative redress.

If there were any prospect of procuring from the united parliament redress for this giant evil, your Committee would recommend the people of Ireland to petition unanimously and simultaneously for its abolition. But it being futile to the utmost point of absurdity to expect any such redress from the united parliament, your Committee recommend the most unremitting and strenuous exertions of the people of Ireland to procure the REPEAL OF THE ACT OF UNION, and the re-establishment of a domestic legislature, in which only the great questions respecting this grievance could be calmly considered and righteously determined.

There is another point of view in which this grievance becomes more prominent in its insulting nature towards the Catholics of Ireland.

Firstly—The professors of the Presbyterian religion constitute but a small minority, when compared with other denominations of Christians. They cannot in the British empire amount to anything like three millions.

Secondly—The Episcopalian Protestants are calculated at about eight millions, and that calculation is probably overrated.

Thirdly—The Catholics of Ireland have had a considerable accession since the last census; that augmentation has probably been attributed with justice in some measure to the numbers

of other Christians, who daily join the church: whatever be the cause, it is likely that the Catholics are now not less than seven millions in Ireland.

The Catholics in Great Britain are estimated at two millions, thus giving the Catholics an aggregate number of nine millions in Great Britain and Ireland.

If then we look to the empire as a united kingdom, we shall find that the Presbyterians, who are in a complete comparative minority, enjoy the state revenues of the Scottish church; that the Episcopalian Protestants, who are also in a minority, enjoy the state Ecclesiastical revenues, not only of England, but of Ireland also; and that the Catholics, who as a particular persuasion of Christians, are in a majority, contribute to the state ecclesiastical revenues of the three countries, and enjoy no part whatever thereof.

In every point of view therefore, the injustice done to the Catholics of Ireland, is plain, palpable, glaring, and ought not to be endured, without taking all legal means to procure an adequate remedy.

It has, indeed, been asserted, that the possession of the state ecclesiastical revenues, is essentially necessary to the continuance of the Presbyterian religion in Scotland, and still more necessary, if possible, to the existence of the Episcopalian Protestant church in Ireland.

Your committee beg leave to remark, that this assertion is not theirs; that, on the contrary, they are thoroughly convinced, that the persons who make it, inflict the strongest reproach; they should say calumny, upon the Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopalian churches. In fact nothing can be more derogatory to any christian persuasion, than the conviction, that its strength consists in MONEY; that the vile mammon of this world is its *pabulum vite*; and that it would cease to exist, so soon as it should cease to be sustained and fed with the national gold.

Your committee carefully abstain from introducing into this report, any species of polemics; but they respectfully submit this proposition to the christian world: that any sect or persuasion of christians, whose tenets necessarily require the sustentation of public money, can have no claim upon either the judgment or the sympathy of those who believe that faith is beyond price, and that genuine christianity is too pure to require the support of filthy lucre.

Your committee refer all timid Christians differing from the Catholic church, to the illustrious example that church has given in Ireland to the nations of the earth; and to the demonstration which the Irish Catholics have afforded, of the efficacy of the voluntary principle of support, wherever the religious feeling prevails.

In Ireland the state revenues were spoliated by act of parliament and regal tyranny, from the Catholic church in that country;—but the religion remained, and its votaries were not diminished. It was thus proved, that Catholicity had a deeper basis than aught the wealth of this world can bestow.

In Ireland the churches were desecrated, the altars were plundered—the shrines were violated—the ecclesiastical buildings were thrown in ruins upon the soil, but the religion remained, and its votaries were not diminished.

Where is the honest and conscientious Protestant, who will for an admission, that his own religion has not the same power to resist the effects of the deprivation of the state revenues, which Catholicity in Ireland has exhibited, and glories in the exhibition?

Again—during centuries of persecution, and at the present moment, the people of Ireland, taken as a nation, the least wealthy in Europe, supports, without any state revenues, a hierarchy perfect in all its parts; four archbishops and twenty-three bishops—in all twenty-seven; deans; archdeacons; vicars general; prebendaries; parish priests; curates; to the amount altogether of more than four thousand individuals. Instead of diminishing the numbers of the Catholics, they have considerably augmented during three centuries of an emaciating persecution—the law grinding to the dust, what the sword had spared.

Who is it that, in the face of such an experiment as has been made in Ireland, will assert, that it is necessary to the existence of a church, with its full hierarchy and its thronging votaries, to lean for support upon the state, and to be supported by state revenues?

MARK AGAIN the triumph of the VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE, as it is exhibited in the ecclesiastical buildings in the city of Dublin alone: within the last few years, sums, which (as nearly as they can be calculated) in round numbers may be safely stated thus, have been expended in the city of Dublin:

The Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Marlborough-street,	£43,000
Church of St. Andrew, Westland-row,	21,000
St. Paul, Arran-quay,	12,000
St. Michan,	8,000
SS. Michael and John,	6,000
St. Catherine,	7,000
St. Nicholas,	6,000
Sums collected for intended improvements, or actually expended upon the other parochial churches, say,	10,000
Church of St. Francis Xavier,	8,000

The churches and ecclesiastical buildings in Dublin, of the Augustinians, calced Carmelites, discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, Dominicans, and Franciscans, estimated much below the real sum, at	£20,000
Five Convents of Sisters of Charity, estimated low at	15,000
Three Convents of Carmelite Nuns, say,	9,000
Convent of poor Clares, of Dominican Nuns, and of the Presentation, say,	9,000

There are, besides these, ten schools for boys, instituted by the Educational Monks; and at least sixteen Confraternities for teaching the Christian Doctrine. The expenses under the two latter heads we are unable to calculate; but we have shewn, that in the city of Dublin alone, there has been expended upon the VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE, in buildings for the spiritual provision and education of Catholics, a sum exceeding £170,000.

Is it not preposterous, that the Irish Catholics, who make such exertions for the sustentation of that religion which they believe to be true, should also be compelled to support a church which they believe to be erroneous? Every man of political integrity *must* feel, that while England is free from such an oppression, while Scotland is free from such an oppression, Ireland ought not to stand alone in the *single deformity* of being compelled to submit to that oppression!

There are two points upon which your Committee would desire to be emphatically understood, they are these—

First,—They do *not* claim that the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland, should be applied to support the church of the majority of the Irish people. Although on principle they *might* be entitled to make such claim, yet they totally repudiate it. They totally disclaim any such appropriation. No Protestant could more distinctly denounce that appropriation than the people of Ireland *should* and *would* do. It is an appropriation, which would essentially injure, corrupt, and corrode the religion to which it should be so applied.

Secondly,—Your committee claim, that the ecclesiastical state revenues should (as the existing vested interests dropped off) be applied for the general benefit of the community; that is, for the support of the poor; for the promotion of education, and in works of charity, applicable equally, and without distinction, to all sects and persuasions.

There is one topic more, to illustrate the grievous injustice done to the Catholic people of Ireland, by the appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues to that small minority which constitutes the Protestant Established Church in Ireland; it is this—

The Presbyterian Established Church in Scotland, being the church of the majority of the Scottish people, is in possession of the ecclesiastical state revenues in Scotland, although those re-

venues were founded by their Catholic ancestors for purposes of exclusively Catholic piety and religion—purposes, many of them directly opposite to, and contradictory of, the tenets and practices of Presbyterianism.

The Episcopalian Protestant Church in England, being the Church of the majority of the English people, is in possession of the ecclesiastical state revenues in England, although those revenues were founded by their Catholic ancestors for purposes of exclusively Catholic piety and religion—purposes, many of them directly opposite to, and contradictory of, the tenets and practices of Episcopalian Protestantism.

Thus, in Scotland and in England, the church of the majority possess ecclesiastical revenues, granted not by Presbyterians or Protestants of any description, but by Catholics.

Whereas, in Ireland, the church of the majority is that of the persons who founded the ecclesiastical state revenues—it is the only church able and willing to perform and carry out all the intentions of the donors and founders of those revenues—yet these revenues are taken from the church of the majority of the Irish people, and bestowed by law upon the antagonist church of a small minority of that people !!!

It does, therefore, appear manifest, that every circumstance attending the ecclesiastical state revenues, increases the nature and extent of the grievance on the score of church temporalities, inflicted upon the Catholic people of Ireland.

Your Committee cannot conclude, without once again warning the people of Ireland—

First—That there is no prospect of obtaining the salutary change they require, from the United Parliament.

Secondly—That the injustice they complain of, can be redressed only by means of the REPEAL OF THE UNION.

Thirdly—That such Repeal must be sought for only by legal and constitutional means—there must not be any outrage, violence, or crime whatsoever. Any outrage, any crime, any illegality, on the part of the Repealers, would give strength to the enemies of Ireland, and would weaken, and ultimately destroy, the best energies of her friends.

Let us then prosecute our agitation for Repeal, within the law and constitution, with the sanction of all good men, and, we trust, with the blessing of God. Irishmen of every sect and persuasion, have an identity of interest in restoring to their country the blessings of a domestic legislature. But above all, the unjust and insulting inequality which the UNION inflicts upon Ireland, ought no longer to be borne in silence by Irishmen.

We close, by reminding the Association emphatically—
That Scotland does not support the church of the minority in Ireland, and that the Scottish people would not endure such an appropriation of her ecclesiastical revenues.

That England does not support the church of the minority in England, and that the English people would not endure such an appropriation of her ecclesiastical revenues, But that Ireland, on the contrary, suffers from this monster evil; and the first duty of Irishmen must be to obtain, by constitutional and legal means, its total abolition.

DANIEL O'CONNELL,
Chairman of the Committee.

April 23, 1840.

To this we have only to add, that we are at present without anything like accurate *data* to estimate the wealth of the established church in Ireland, and in expectation of some parliamentary returns this session to elucidate the subject. The following was the estimate of Mr. Ward, M. P. for St. Albans, in his speech on this subject in August last:—

ACTUAL REVENUE OF THE IRISH CHURCH IN 1843.

Episcopal Revenues:				£
Land and Tithes ...	...	...	Gross	151,127
Dean and Prebends, exclusive of those attached to Episcopal Sees ...	...	...	...	34,481
Minor Canons and Vicars Choral ...	...	...	...	10,525
Parochial Benefices, value of Glebes and Tithes, Ministers' Money, Easter Offerings, &c.:				
Province of Armagh ...	...	...	£256,372	
" Tuam ...	...	...	42,738	
" Dublin ...	...	...	121,859	
" Cashel ...	...	...	189,682	
				610,651
Gross Receipts ...				£806,784
Tithe Composition taken separately:				
Parochial ...	...	...	...	486,785
Episcopal ...	...	...	...	9,515
Received by Dignitaries ...	...	...	...	24,360
Deduct 25 per cent. for Rent Charge, under Act of 1838 ...				520,660
				130,165
Remain ...				390,495
Add Episcopal Revenues, after deducting 33,875 <i>l.</i> received by Bishops and Dignitaries ...				162,258
				£552,753

The conservative side of the house contested the accuracy of this estimate; and Mr. Shaw (Recorder of Dublin) moved for some returns to give, as he stated, a more correct idea. He, however, *withdrew his motion* a few days later. It is now generally understood that his reason for doing so was, that the Protestant Bishops objected to give returns of their incomes, &c.

Mr. Ward's estimate cannot be far from the mark.

MISCELLANEOUS POSTSCRIPT.

The busy, in which circumstances alluded to in the Preface, has caused this compilation to be sent to press, necessitates the throwing together here in a species of postscript, of various matters of a miscellaneous nature, having reference to the subjects we have discussed, but to arrange which, in proper order of discussion in the text or appendix, *would* require a space of time which we cannot now command.

Mr. A. Barrington, in his most interesting and patriotic work, "The Abolition of Slavery," published in Dublin in the year 1833, has a chapter on the "Position of the Slave in the original design of the Legislature of the United Kingdom." He states his opinion that it was a determination to render Ireland subservient to England.

The late Lord Justice Keble, stated the views of the measure now before the House, but not, I am sorry to say, that it was "an intention to render Ireland subservient."

Mr. Barrington quotes in his sentences in support of his charge, Sir William P. C. "The Abolition of Slavery," published in London, 1833, in the year 1833, in the year 1833, in the year 1833.

From Lord Keble's opinion, this passage is

In the of the advantage, which would be derived from the abolition of the slave, it is evident that the measure should give

History
by R.
Keble
in the
year
1833.

MISCELLANEOUS POSTSCRIPT.

THE hurry in which circumstances alluded to in the Preface, has caused this compilation to be sent to press, necessitates the throwing together here, in a species of postscript, of various matters of a miscellaneous nature, having reference to the subjects we have discussed; but to arrange which, in proper order of insertion in the text or appendices already given, would require a space of time which we cannot now command.

Mr. W. J. Battersby, in his most pains-taking and patriotic work, "*The Repealer's Manual; or, Absenteeism and the Union re-considered*," printed in Dublin in the year 1833, has a chapter on the question of "What was the original design of the legislative Union?" He states his opinion, that it was "a determination to render Ireland subservient to England."

Battersby's Repealers' Manual, 1833.

The late Chief Justice Bushe stated the *animus* of the measure more forcibly, but not more truly. He said that it was "an intolerance of Irish prosperity."

Mr. Battersby quotes, as his witnesses in support of his charge, Sir William Petty, Sir Matthew Deaker, Primate Boulter, Postlethwayt, in his work entitled "*Britain's Commercial Interest*," printed in Dublin, 1767, &c. &c.

From Postlethwayt he quotes this passage:—

In lieu of the advantages Ireland would receive from a Union, she should give England *at least* £500,000 *annually*. Sup-

Postlethwayt on a Union.

posing that Ireland, by exerting her competition in trade against foreign rivals, should thereby gain a nett million per annum; would it not be well worth her while to give up to England *one-half* for the sake of the other? As England does already possess no inconsiderable share of the lands of Ireland, *so the Union would prove an effectual method to vest the rest in her; for as the riches of Ireland would chiefly return to England, she continuing the seat of empire, the Irish landlords would be little better than tenants to her for allowing them to make the best of their estates!*

With the indignant ejaculation, after the above, of, "There is love of Ireland for you!" Mr. Battersby goes on as follows:

The infamous policy of those who suggested this Union on the above grounds, became so much the subject of alarm to the Irish people, shortly after the publication of Postlethwayt's book, that Smollet gives us the following account of the opposition, which the mere report of it created in Dublin.

After proving (in the 16 ch. p. 75-6) the loyalty of the Irish Catholics under unparalleled insult, he adds:—

Effect in Dublin of mere report of Union, as related by Smollet.

"Although no traces of disaffection to his Majesty's family, appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin.

"The present Lord Lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his administration!

"He had bestowed a marked favour upon a gentleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and generous nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected.

"Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or that the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs, certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower order of people, *that an Union would soon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of England.*

"This notion *inflamed the populace* to such a degree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, and searched for the Journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames.

"Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members

of both houses whom they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such an Union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland.

"Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous insurgents.

"A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself."

Dalrymple, in his "*Memoirs*," (4to edit., vol. 3, p. 48,) gives an account of a curious anecdote concerning the Union, the substance of which is, that in 1776 it was intended that the Earl of Rochford should succeed the Earl of Harcourt as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; that Lord Rochford received his Majesty's note to that effect; that one of the leading conditions of that appointment was to bring about an *Union with England*; that on conversing with Lord Harcourt his opinion was, that to attempt an Union with Ireland in *time of war* was insanity—that the minds of the Irish should be long prepared for it—that no Union should be attempted unless the wish for it came from Ireland, and not even then, unless there were a sufficient *body of troops* there to keep the *mad men* in order; that the two great objections to it were, *loss of money by the absentees*, and loss of importance by diminishing the peers and commoners;—that seeing the difficulties, Lord Rochford declined the intended honor. Thus we find the idea of the Union originating with the *Crown or Cabinet of England*, 23 years before the measure was carried; and we find the anticipated evils it would entail upon Ireland urged as the reason why it could not then be adopted. We find that Earl Chatham also in 1763 had the Union in his eye, not as a "*healing measure*" for Ireland, but as beneficial to Great Britain.

We now turn to a few opinions and declarations on record, against the Union, uttered at the time it was proposed.

We quote first from the debate of the Irish bar, at a meeting held by them in 1799, to petition against the measure :

That every possible modification of an Union necessarily involved evils not to be compensated for..... The merging of our representatives in an assembly, where they will be more than quadrupled, and where, if even unanimous, they could have little influence. The perpetual existence of the united legislature in another country, to the influence of whose wishes and opinions

Declarations
against
the Union.

Debate of
the Irish
Bar,
(Sunday,
9th Dec.
1799,) on
the Union.
Mr. P.
Burrows.

they will be subject. The enormous increase of absenteeism—of taxes—of our national debt.....(*Mr. P. Burrowes.*)

Mr.
Barnes.

..... To his own knowledge, and he had been himself a sea-man, half the strength of the navy of England were drawn from Ireland; and yet, English captains have had the insolence to say, they would have no more Irishmen than mainmasts!..... To all the world, except the East Indies, we already have a right to trade; and a Union would give us no more than we have now of that trade.—(*Mr. Barnes.*)

Mr.
Goold.

..... The British minister must for ever be subservient to the will and interests of the British merchant; the British merchant must for ever be subservient to his own interest..... I argue, from the necessary operations of the human passion on the human conduct, when I say, that the British merchant will force the British minister to be British, even on the subject of *Irish* affairs. And when the question of self-interest once speaks, it speaks in a voice of thunder..... In such a situation, as well might you expect from the oyster the sagacity of human intellect; as well might you expect, from the famished tiger, the sympathy of human feeling, as from the British minister and British merchant, a due and impartial consideration, or a feeling and honest conduct, touching the affairs of this our country.—(*Mr. Goold.*)

Mr. Orr.

..... In the present state of the connexion, England cannot offer an equivalent for the surrender of our constitution. Formerly we were in a different situation. Our parliament was controlled by that of England, and we had no trade or manufacture but the making and exporting linen cloth. The direct importation of goods from the West Indies, rum excepted, without landing them in England, was prohibited, as also the exportation of woollen goods.—(*Mr. Orr.*)

The Debate arose on the motion of Mr. William Saurin:—
“That a measure of Legislative Union, is an innovation highly dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture of the country.”

Amendment—to adjourn a month.

For adjournment,	..	..	..	..	32
Against..	..	..	..	..	166

Resolutions carried.

Our next is the opinion of the celebrated CHARLES JAMES FOX, on the subject.

See the
“Constitution, or
the
History of the
Parliamentary
System, &c. &c.”

At a meeting of the Whig Club, May 7, 1800, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in London—Mr. Fox in the chair, supported by the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Holland, &c. &c.

Mr. Fox said The whole scheme (UNION) *went upon that false and abominable presumption, that we could legislate better for the Irish, than they could do for themselves—a principle founded upon the most arrogant despotism and tyranny.* There was not a more clear axiom in the science of politics, than that man was his own natural governor, and that he ought to legislate for himself. No other being could enter into his feelings, or have anything common in sympathy with his nature; and therefore the legislature of a people most flow out of, and be indented with, the people themselves. It was idle to talk to Ireland of the word Union, since there could be no such thing as a real Union, on an equal footing, between countries so disproportionate and unequal. Could the Irish believe that in this connexion they were to have an equal and availing voice in legislating for England, as the English were in legislating for Ireland? There was no maxim more true in philosophy or in politics than the great moral doctrine, '*Do as you would be done by.*' Examine this measure by that rule. Can the Irish bring themselves to believe that they will have any share or influence in legislating for England? Take it on the other side. What Englishman would submit to see his destiny regulated and his affairs conducted by persons chosen for Belfast or Limerick? He believed that even in the present temper of the people of England, they would not submit to the project of Union, if they thought that the Irish members were to have any influence on British legislature. What then we could not suffer, we ought not to impose.

Union
Evening
Post,"
May, 13,
1800.

C.J. Fox.

We ought not to presume to legislate for a nation, in whose feelings and affections, wants and interests, opinions and prejudices, we have no sympathy. It can only be attempted on the principle of the most arrogant despotism. It was an attack on the pride of a gallant nation, and was calculated to reduce them to the state, as many of their own patriots had said, of a dependent province; and it was, in his opinion, a most audacious attempt, after all that appeared in that country, since it was adding insult to injury, to call it a measure in which the Irish acquiesced. When martial law was proclaimed, to tell them that you will do this because you *will* it, and to denominate the forced silence of the country a *consent*, is to add insult to injury. He had thought it his duty to say so much, as misrepresentations were abroad as to his sentiments on this subject; and he was desirous of informing all who might take any interest in his opinions on the matter, that he certainly was of opinion, that the principles of Whiggism alone were the safe, true, and only ground on which a nation could be governed. The chief of these was, that the sovereignty of the people was the only legitimate source of that representative

system, by which a nation could be secured in its rights and liberties."

Orange
Lodges.

The next matter we have to throw in, is relative to the opposition of ORANGE LODGES to the Union. The resolutions that follow, are taken from the newspapers of the year 1800, particularly that entitled "The Constitution, or Anti-Union Evening Post."

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST THE UNION.

Orange Lodge, No. 883, at Newtownbarry, 16th Feb. 1800.

There
were
Irish
HEARTS
among the
Orange-
men in
1800.

"That Orangemen ought to come forward as Orangemen and Irishmen, and declare their sentiments against a legislative Union, which now, or at any other time, would be of the most fatal and pernicious consequences to the real liberty of Ireland.

"EDMUND BEATTY, Master.

"WILLOUGHBY BUSTARD, Dep.

"ALEX. MCCLAUGHRY, Sec."

Lodges, Nos. 780 and 785, Dublin, 11th March, 1800.

"That the constitution of 1782, under which our country has advanced to greatness with uncommon rapidity, is that which as Orangemen we have sworn to defend, and will invariably maintain. And we are determined to co-operate with our fellow-subjects in every legal and proper method to oppose so destructive a measure.

"J. CHARLES, Secretary."

Lodge, 391.—Wattle Bridge, County Fermanagh, 1st March, 1800.

"That strongly attached to the constitution of 1782, a settlement ratified in the most unequivocal manner, so far as the faith of nations is binding, we should feel ourselves criminal were we to remain silent while an attempt is made to extinguish it.

"That imprest with every loyal sentiment towards our gracious sovereign, we trust that the measure of a legislative Union, which is contrary to the sense of *all Orangemen and the nation at large*, will be relinquished.

"JOHN MOORE, Master."

Lodge 428.—Newtown-Butler, 18th March, 1800.

“That no lover of his country could have proposed a measure fraught with such destructive consequences ; and that all supporters of it should be execrated by their fellow-subjects and by posterity.

“JOHN CORRY, Master.”

Lodges 382 and 907.

“That as Irishmen, we feel insulted by the degrading arguments held forth in favour of the Union, as if the Lords and Commons were so weak, helpless, and ignorant, that they can neither support nor legislate for Ireland without British aid.”

Orange Lodge, 652.

“At a full Meeting of Lodge 652, held in Dublin, on Monday evening, 3rd of March, 1800, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

“Resolved unanimously—That as a loyal and Protestant Association, attached as we are to our most gracious sovereign and happy constitution, we cannot, without the utmost indignation and regret, see a resolution from the GRAND LODGE, enjoining us to silence on the momentous question of a Legislative Union.

“Resolved—That sorry as we are to differ in opinion from the Grand Lodge, we should consider our silence as being accessory to the annihilation of that constitution, which, as Orangemen and Freemen, we have solemnly sworn to support.

“Resolved—That we consider the friends of that abominable measure—a Union with Great Britain—as the greatest enemies to our most gracious sovereign—a measure which would destroy our existence as a nation, and eventually involve the rights, liberties, and even the lives of the people of Ireland.

“Resolved—That, from the above considerations, we solemnly protest against that destructive measure, and do call upon our brother Orangemen by every legal means to support that constitution for which we risked our lives and properties in the hour of danger.

“G. S., Deputy Master.

“H. F., Secretary.

Lodge, No. 500,

At a full meeting of the Orange Lodge, No. 500, held in Mountmellick, the 4th day of February, 1800, the following address was unanimously agreed to :—

"TO ALL BROTHER ORANGEMEN.

"Conscious as we are of our loyalty to his Majesty George the Third, and of our attachment to the happy constitution of this kingdom as established in 1782, we have beheld with surprise and concern an address from the Grand Lodge to all Orangemen, entreating them to be silent on a question whereby that constitution is vitally attacked, and whereby the loyalty of the most valuable part of our countrymen is shaken or endangered. We cannot think it the duty of an Orangeman to submit implicitly in all cases of the utmost moment, to the directions of a lodge which is principally composed of persons who are under a certain influence, which is exerted against the rights of Ireland; and while a lodge under such influence shall give the law to all Orangemen, we fear that our dearest interests will be betrayed. We therefore protest against its injunctions of silence, and declare, as Orangemen, as freeholders, as Irishmen, in all the several relations in which we are placed, that we consider the extinction of our separate legislature as the extinction of the Irish nation. We invite our Brother Orangemen to elect without delay a Grand Lodge, which shall be composed of men of tried integrity, who shall be unplaced, unpensioned, unbought, and who shall avow this best qualification for such a station, that they will support the independence of Ireland and the Constitution of 1782.

"Signed,

"HENRY DEERY, Master.

"JOHN ROBINSON, Deputy-Master.

"ABRAHAM HYLAND, Secretary."

Orange Lodge 651.

At a numerous Meeting of the Brethren, it was

"Resolved unanimously—That we deeply lament the necessity which compels us to differ from the Grand Lodge, as we conceive no body of men whatsoever have so just a right to take into serious consideration the subject of a legislative Union with Great Britain as Orangemen, who have associated and sworn for the sole purpose of supporting their king and constitution.

"That we see with unspeakable sorrow an attempt made to deprive us of that constitution, of our trade, our rising prosperity, and our existence as a nation, and reducing us to the degrading situation of a colony to England.

"That we consider this measure but an ill return to men who clung to that constitution in the hour of danger and

distress, and risked their lives and properties in its support, to have it snatched from them almost at the moment they saved it.

“ Signed,

“ GEORGE GONNE, Master.

“ SAMUEL H. SMITH, Pro. Sec.”

Dublin, 19th Feb. 1800.

There were resolutions of a similar nature passed by Lodges 184, 467, 413, 167, 544, and many others.

With regard to the legislative Union between *Scotland* and *England*, briefly alluded to in our text, a few remarks may here be added.

Two very angry disputes between those countries, tended mainly to the adoption of the measure in question. First, the dispute in matters of trade ; second, that as to the succession to the throne.

The Scotch had attempted a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, half military and half commercial. The commercial object was, to facilitate the operations and transactions of an East India Company, which they were seeking to establish in rivalry of England. The latter country stopped at nothing to crush this attempt—prevented her own merchants from taking any share in it, and used influence in foreign ports to hinder subscription lists from being opened to speculators there. The supplies sent from Scotland, to the brave and hardy band of adventurers who had gone to Darien to establish the settlement, were stopped on the seas, and the hostility of Spain against the attempt was inflamed and encouraged. The result was, the defeat of the attempt, and nearly total destruction of those who had made it. Not content with this, England kept a fleet of twenty-four men of war at sea, for the express purpose of cutting up the commerce of Scotland with France. Scotch goods were heavily taxed coming into England ; and, in short, nearly every hostile measure was adopted, short of open war.

This hostility of England was much aggravated by an occurrence which took place about the year 1704. The

Scotch had fitted out cruizers to endeavour to protect their trade, and make retaliations on that of England ; the ship Worcester was taken by them, and her commander, Green, being recognized as one who had formerly been guilty of acts of piracy, was tried, condemned, and executed.

The dispute respecting the succession was scarcely a more grievous matter of difference. The Scotch parliament delayed the " Act of Security" two whole sessions ; and when they did at length pass it in the third session, they did so, *adding a clause, providing that the successor to the throne should not be king of both kingdoms.* Their object in this was, to endeavour to drive England to terms in matters of trade.

The English parliament resented this, by an act (in the session of 1704) entitled an act " to prevent the mischiefs arising to England from the act of security in Scotland ;" and thereupon proceeded to the extremities we have alluded to.

Powerful secret influences were set at work to corrupt the Scottish parliament, and the general poverty of the country gave these corrupting influences great advantage. We have had quite enough to disgust us in the details of the corruption of our own parliament, to incline us to delay on that of the Scottish legislature ; and therefore close the subject with simply repeating the historical fact, that the English artifices and designs were successful.

THE ACT
FOR THE
UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

(Royal assent given on Friday, 1st August, 1800.)

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WHEREAS in pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland, have severally agreed and resolved, that in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And Whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both Houses of the said two Parliaments respectively, have likewise agreed upon certain articles for affectuating and establishing the said purposes in the tenor following:—

ARTICLE FIRST.

That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;"

The Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland have resolved to concur in measures for uniting the two kingdoms.

Said parliaments have agreed upon following articles.

Great Britain and Ireland to be united for ever from 1st January, 1801.

and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

## ARTICLE SECOND.

Succession to the Crown to continue as at present.

That it be the second article of Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

## ARTICLE THIRD.

One parliament.

That it be the third article of Union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

## ARTICLE FOURTH.

4 Spiritual and 28 Temporal Lords to sit for Ireland and 100 Commoners.

That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners, (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

The representation act shall be considered as part of the Union.

That such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, "to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament," shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

Rotation and election of Lords spiritual and temporal.

That all questions touching the rotation or elections of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall

not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliaments at the table of the House of Lords whilst the House is sitting, and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments shall be deemed the peer or peers elected, as the case may be.

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve, if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above to sit in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election, and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged.

Irish peers who are not elected to serve as peers, may serve as British Commoners, during which time they cannot be elected to serve as peers.

That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof after the Union, provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union, until three of the peerages of Ireland which shall have been existing at the time of the Union shall have become extinct, and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall by extinction of peerages, or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by

Creation of Irish peers.



extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom.

In what cases peerages may be deemed extinct.

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage, and no peerage shall be deemed extinct unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof, and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct, and if such claim shall be allowed as valid by judgment of the House of Lords of the united kingdom reported to his Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

How questions touching election of Irish Commons shall be decided.

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided, subject, nevertheless, to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland as from local circumstances the parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Qualification as to property of Irish Commons shall be same

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties and cities and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be

made in that respect by act of parliament of the united kingdom.

as in England.

That when his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons so returned, as aforesaid, on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the parliament of the united kingdom.

How the parliament of the united kingdom shall be constituted.

That if his Majesty, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords and Commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons so summoned and returned as above, on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons, of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and such first parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty holding such offices or places, as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house, as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places, as aforesaid, more than twenty, then, and in such case, the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place

In what case the present members of both Houses in G. Britain shall be members of first parliament of the united kingdom.

No more than 20 Irish Commoners holding places shall sit in the united parliament; and if more be returned the seats of the last shall be vacated.

Oaths to be taken as now prescribed by parliament of Great Britain.

Privileges, rights, ranks, and precedence of Lords spiritual and temporal in the imperial parliament.

shall be capable of being elected, or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of parliament which shall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland, shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedence next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now, or may hereafter enjoy the same, the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted; and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedence next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland, created after the Union, shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the united kingdom so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages, both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall, in all other respects from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom, and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted.

#### ARTICLE FIFTH.

That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into



one Protestant episcopal church, to be called "The united Church of England and Ireland;" and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church, shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Ireland united into one.

Church of Scotland to continue as at present established.

## ARTICLE SIXTH.

That it be the sixth article of Union, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively and generally, in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland to be on same footing from 1st Jan. 1801.

That from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other shall cease and determine, and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

No duty or bounty on exportation of produce of one country to the other.

That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein-after enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule No. I, A and B, hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein-after provided; and that for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the schedule No. II, hereunto annexed, shall be subject, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule No. II.—And the woollen manufactures, known by the names of old and

All articles the produce of either country shall be imported free from duty, except those in schedule 1.

Duties in schedule 2, to be paid for 20 years.

Duty on  
Woollen  
manufac-  
ture.

Duties on  
salt, hops,  
and coals,  
as at pre-  
sent.

Regula-  
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and mus-  
lins;

also res-  
pecting  
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Produce  
of either  
country,  
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duty, shall  
on impor-  
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dule I, A  
and B.

new drapery, shall pay on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per centum, from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials, and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule, No. I, A and B, shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased in the manner herein specified, and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other, and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties, as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same, and that when any such

new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed, on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively, from the same country to the other.

That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall, in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods, into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount (if any be retained) shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit, but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the said articles may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

Same charges on produce of either country exported through the other.

Regulation respecting duty on colonial or foreign produce, not to extend to corn, &c.

#### SCHEDULE, NO. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of the Union.

|                                                                                    |                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Apparel                                                                            | } Ten Pounds per cent. on the true value. |
| Brass, wrought                                                                     |                                           |
| Cabinet ware                                                                       |                                           |
| Coaches and other Carriages                                                        |                                           |
| Copper, wrought                                                                    |                                           |
| Cottons, other than Calicoes and Muslins                                           |                                           |
| Glass                                                                              |                                           |
| Haberdashery                                                                       |                                           |
| Hats                                                                               |                                           |
| Tin-plates, wrought Iron, and Hardware                                             |                                           |
| Gold and Silver Lace, Gold and Silver Thread, Bullion for Lace, Pearl and Spangles |                                           |
| Millinery                                                                          |                                           |
| Paper, stained                                                                     |                                           |
| Pottery                                                                            |                                           |
| Saddlery, and other manufactured Leather                                           |                                           |
| Silk manufacture                                                                   |                                           |
| Stockings                                                                          |                                           |

## ARTICLE SEVENTH.

Charges for debts incurred by either kingdom before the Union, shall be separately defrayed.

That it be the seventh article of Union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland; that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, viz.: beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the parliament of the united kingdom shall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries.

For 20 years the contribution towards expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland, shall be as 15 to 2, after which the proportions may be altered as herein.

Revenues of Ireland shall be a consolidated fund, applicable to interest sinking fund, and expenditure of the united kingdom.

That for the defraying the said expenditure, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged in the first instance with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund, applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom shall, from time to time, deem fit; provided always that, in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article.

No article in Ireland shall hereafter be more highly taxed than in England.

That if, at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution, and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in ease of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall, at no future period, be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

Application of surplus of the revenues of Ireland.

That all monies to be raised after the Union by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that if at any time in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than of that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

All monies raised after the Union shall be a joint debt.

What shall be done when a greater proportion shall be raised or set apart in one country than in the other.

That if at any future day, the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period

In what cases the imperial parliament may declare



that future expenses shall be defrayed by equal taxes on same articles, subject to particular exemptions in Ireland and Scotland.

within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively, or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value, and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand.

After such declaration, no specific proportion of contribution, but separate interest & charges remaining shall be defrayed separately

That from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed, by separate taxes in each country.

Premiums for agriculture, manufactures, and pious purposes, shall be continued 20 years in Ireland.

That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacturers, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct.

Application of revenue arising from territorial dependencies.

That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

## ARTICLE EIGHTH.

That it be the eighth article of Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and provided, that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only; and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to his Majesty's delegates, in his Court of Chancery, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas the said articles having, by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his Majesty, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same, and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles; in order therefore to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be, and they are hereby declared to be, the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one; provided, that before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Great Britain, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

2. And whereas a bill, entitled, *an act to regulate the mode by which the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament*, has passed the two houses of the parliament of this

All civil and ecclesiastical laws and courts shall remain as now established, subject to future alterations; Writs of error and appeals decided by lords of united kingdom; Court of admiralty in Ireland with appeal to chancery in Ireland; all contrary laws repealed.

Said articles were approved of by his majesty; said articles are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union, and in force for ever from 1st Jan. 1801.

Recital of the representation act passed this session.

By 4th  
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the Union  
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4 lords  
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kingdom, the tenor whereof is as follows:—"An act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament." Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland; shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commons. (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs, be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following, that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords of the united parliament in each session thereof; that said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees; that the primate of all Ireland for the time being shall sit in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom, the archbishop of Dublin, for the time being, in the second, the archbishop of Cashel, for the time being, in the third, the archbishop of Tuam, for the time being, in the fourth, and so by rotation of sessions for ever; such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament; that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session, in the following order; the lord bishop of Meath, the lord bishop of Kildare, the lord bishop of Derry in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the lord bishop of Raphoe, the lord bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoc, the lord bishop of Dromore, in the second session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the lord bishop of Elphin, the lord bishop of Down and Connor, the lord bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the lord bishop of Cloyne, the lord bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the united kingdom;

the lord bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the lord bishop of Kilmore, the lord bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the lord bishop of Ossory, the lord bishop of Killala and Achonry, the lord bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom, from time to time as herein after provided; that the said twenty-eight lords temporal shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland, in the manner herein after provided; that each of the said lords temporal so chosen shall be entitled to sit in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life, and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner herein after provided, choose another peer out of their own number to supply the place so vacant.

The 28 lords temporal shall be chosen for life in manner herein directed; and in cases of death or forfeiture, others shall be chosen.

3. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred Commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, viz.:—For each county of Ireland, two; for the city of Dublin, two; for the city of Cork, two; for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, one; for the city of Waterford, one; for the city of Limerick, one; for the borough of Belfast, one; for the county and town of Drogheda, one; for county and town of Carrickfergus, one; for the borough of Newry, one; for the city of Kilkenny, one; for the city of Londonderry, one; for the town of Galway, one; for the borough of Clonmel, one; for the town of Wexford, one; for the town of Youghal, one; for the town of Bandonbridge, one; for the borough of Armagh, one; for the borough of Dundalk, one; for the town of Kinsale, one; for the borough of Lisburn, one; for the borough of Sligo, one; for the borough of Catherlough, one; for the borough of Ennis, one; for the borough of Dungarvan, one; for the borough of Downpatrick, one; for the borough of Coleraine, one; for the town of Mallow, one; for the borough of Athlone, one; for the town of New Ross, one; for the borough of Tralee, one; for the city of Cashel, one; for the borough of Dungannon, one; for the borough of Portarlinton, one; for the borough of Enniskillen, one.

64 commoners for counties, and 36 for cities and boroughs.

4. And be it enacted, that in case of the summoning of a new parliament, or if the seat of any of the said Commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election; and that all the other towns, cities, corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament; and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or

When vacancies happen in said counties, cities, or boroughs, new elections shall be held,

# THE ACT FOR THE UNION

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held for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders, or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or elsewhere (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the united kingdom); and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in any such election or pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and præmunire made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second.

5. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, be it enacted, that on the day following that on which the act for establishing the Union shall have received the royal assent, the Primate of all Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, and the Lord Bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, for the first session thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the House of Lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight Lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, in the following manner, that is to say, the names of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the Clerk of the Crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose, and each of the said peers who previous to the said day, and in the present parliament, shall have actually taken his seat in the House of Lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof, shall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himself or by his proxy, the name of such proxy having been previously entered in the books of the House of Lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof, to the Clerk of the Crown or his deputy, (who shall then and there attend for that purpose,) a list of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland; and the Clerk of the Crown, or his deputy, shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and there cast up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who shall be chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the said names to

the House of Lords of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and the twenty-eight lords so chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summons to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the Clerk of the Crown shall return such number in favour of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list, and in a second list shall return the names of those peers who shall have an equality of votes, but in favour of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made; and the names of the peers in the second list for whom an equal number of votes shall have been so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords thereof, whilst the House is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected, and so successively as often as the case may require; and whenever the seat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal so elected, shall be vacated by decease or forfeiture, the Chancellor, the Keeper, or Commissioners of the great seal of the united kingdom, for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal, of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom, to the Chancellor, the Keeper, or Commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued by the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who shall have sat and voted in the House of Lords of Ireland before the union, or whose right to sit and vote therein, or to vote at such elections, shall on claim made in his behalf, have been admitted by the House of Lords of Ireland, before the Union, or after the Union, by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and notice shall forthwith be published by the said Clerk of the Crown, in the London and Dublin Gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed, and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer within fifty-two days for the test of the writ to return the same into the Crown Office of Ireland, with the blank filled up by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or

peers chosen, to be made to the house of lords of first parliament of united kingdom.

What shall be done where the number of votes happens to be equal.

How seats vacated by death or forfeiture of any of the 28 peers, shall be filled.

Notices to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes.

# THE ACT FOR THE UNION

Oaths to be taken and declarations signed by peers.

Certificates to be transmitted with returns.

Clerk of Crown to publish in London and Dublin Gazettes the name of the peer so chosen, &c.

What shall be done when votes are equal.

When a lord spiritual, being chosen by the lords temporal, shall be chosen one of the

forfeiture, as aforesaid, and the said writs and returns shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen shall be written twice, that is once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed; and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms, and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed, and sealed as above, shall remain of record in the Crown Office of Ireland, and the other part shall be certified by the Clerk of the Crown to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom: and no peer of Ireland, except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the House of Lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless he shall after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are, or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the united kingdom, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof, which oaths and declarations shall be either taken and subscribed in the Court of Chancery of Ireland, or before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof signed by such justices of the peace, or by the register of the said Court of Chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer, with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the Crown Office of Ireland; and the Clerk of the Crown shall forthwith after the return day of the writs, cause to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority of votes, and the peer so chosen shall, during his life be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the names of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament shall be deemed the peer elected.

6. And be it enacted, that in case any lord spiritual, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal, in every such case during the life of the lords temporal, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, shall be deemed the peer elected.

Ireland of rep spirit temp Are who a S fra

Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords temporal, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords shall proceed to the next spiritual lord without regard to such spiritual lord so chosen a temporal peer, that is to say, if such spiritual lord shall be an Archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the Archbishop whose see is next in rotation; and if such spiritual lord shall be a Suffragan Bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the Suffragan Bishop whose see is next in rotation.

7. And whereas by the said fourth article of Union, it is agreed that if His Majesty shall on or before the first day of January next, declare under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective Houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective Houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; Be it enacted for and in that case only, that the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are thereby declared to be by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the united kingdom, and that on a day and hour to be appointed by His Majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the said first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the college of the holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs, that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmel, town of Wexford, town of Youghal, town of Bandon Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinsale, borough of Lisburn, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvan, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portlinton, and borough of Enniskillen, or any five or more of them, shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the House of Commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose, and the first drawn

representatives of the lords temporal, the representatives of the lords spiritual shall proceed to the next in rotation.

If on or before 1st Jan. next, his Majesty declares that the present Lords and Commons of G.B. shall be the members of both Houses for G. B. the present members for counties, and for Dublin and Cork, shall be members in first imperial parliament.

How and when members for Trinity College, and for the cities and boroughs herein named shall be returned.



Any member for any of said places may withdraw his name before lots are drawn, and the name of the other shall be returned.

What shall be done when both names are withdrawn, or a vacancy of both members.

name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs, shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the united kingdom, and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the crown or his deputy, to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown or his deputy, to each of the members whose name shall have been so drawn; provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs, by personal application to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the said day so appointed as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot, in which case or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise, of one of the members of any of the said places or boroughs at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid, as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and shall also express in such return whether any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy, and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superseded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon shall be null and of no effect, and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, one of the said names shall then be drawn by lot in such manner and time as the said House of Commons shall direct, and the person whose name shall be so drawn, shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; but if at the time aforesaid no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

8. And be it enacted, that whenever his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united

When a new parliament of

kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act, for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom according to the numbers herein before set forth; and whenever any vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the said college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise by death or otherwise, the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the great seal, upon such vacancy being certified to them respectively by the proper warrant, shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy, and such writs and the returns thereon respectively being returned into the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the House of Commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually, or shall hereafter be certified; and copies of the said writs and returns attested by the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, shall be preserved in the crown office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns, in case the original writs and returns shall be lost.

united kingdom shall be summoned, Lord Chancellor shall cause writs to be issued &c., and so on all vacancies in commons.

Copies of returns shall be preserved in Crown Office, and shall be evidence.

9. Be it enacted, that the said bill so herein recited be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same; provided always, that the said herein recited bill shall receive the royal assent, and be passed into a law previous to the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one; and provided also, that if the said herein recited bill shall not receive the royal assent and be passed into a law previous to the said first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, this act and every part thereof shall be of no force or validity whatsoever.

Recited bill shall be part of this act.

10. And be it enacted, that the great seal of Ireland may, if his Majesty shall so think fit, after the Union be used in like manner as before the Union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and that his Majesty may, so long as he shall think fit, continue the Privy Council of Ireland to be his Privy Council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

Great seal of Ireland.



## SCHEDULE, NO. I.—A.

*Of the Articles to be charged with Countervailing Duties upon Importation from Ireland into Great Britain, according to the Sixth Article of Union.*

### ON IMPORTATION INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM IRELAND.

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | CUSTOMS. |    |    | EXCISE. |    |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----|----|---------|----|----|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | £        | s. | d. | £       | s. | d. |
| BEER.—For every barrel consisting of thirty-six gallons, English beer measure, of Irish beer, ale, or mum, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the importer thereof. . . . . | .....    |    |    | 0       | 8  | 0  |
| BRICKS AND TILES.—For every thousand of Irish bricks, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | .....    |    |    | 0       | 5  | 0  |
| For every thousand of Irish plain tiles . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | .....    |    |    | 0       | 4  | 10 |
| For every thousand of Irish pan or ridge tiles, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | .....    |    |    | 0       | 12 | 10 |
| For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, not exceeding ten inches square, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                             | .....    |    |    | 0       | 2  | 5  |
| For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, exceeding ten inches square, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                 | .....    |    |    | 0       | 4  | 10 |
| For every thousand of Irish tiles, other than such as are herein before enumerated and described, by whatsoever name or names such tiles are or may be called or known, . . . . .                                                                                               | .....    |    |    | 0       | 4  | 10 |
| CANDLES.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles of tallow, and other candles whatsoever, (except wax and spermaceti,) . . . . .                                                                                                                                    | .....    |    |    | 0       | 0  | 1  |

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | CUSTOMS. |    |    | EXCISE. |    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----|----|---------|----|----|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | £        | s. | d. | £       | s. | d. |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles which may be made of wax or spermaceti, or which are usually called or sold either for wax or spermaceti, notwithstanding the mixture of any other ingredient therewith                                        |          |    |    |         |    |    |
| CHOCOLATE, &c.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish cocoa, cocoa-paste, or chocolate, ...                                                                                                                                                                   |          |    |    | 0       | 2  | 6  |
| CORDAGE, viz.—To be used as standing rigging; or other cordage made from topt hemp, the ton, containing twenty cwt. ...                                                                                                                                            | 4        | 10 | 0  |         |    |    |
| Of any other sort, cable yarn, pack-thread, and twine, the ton, containing twenty cwt. ...                                                                                                                                                                         | 4        | 0  | 0  |         |    |    |
| CYDER AND PERRY.—For every hogshead, consisting of sixty-three gallons English wine measure, of Irish cyder and perry, which shall be imported as merchandize or for sale, and, which shall be sent or consigned to any factor or agent to sell or dispose of, ... |          |    |    | 0       | 0  | 2  |
| GLASS.—For every square foot superficial measure of Irish plate glass, ...                                                                                                                                                                                         |          |    |    | 0       | 0  | 0  |
| For every hundred weight of Irish flint, enamel, stained, paste, or plate glass, ...                                                                                                                                                                               |          |    |    | 0       | 0  | 0  |
| For every hundred weight of Irish spread window glass, commonly called broad glass, ...                                                                                                                                                                            |          |    |    | 0       | 0  | 0  |
| For every hundred weight of Irish window glass (not being spread glass), whether flashed or otherwise manufactured, and commonly called or known by the name of crown glass or german sheet glass, ...                                                             |          |    |    | 0       | 0  | 0  |

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | CUSTOMS. | EXCISE. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | £ s. d.  | £ s. d. |
| For every hundred weight of vessels made use of in chemical laboratories and of garden glasses, and of all other vessels or utensils of common bottle metal, manufactured in Ireland, common bottles excepted, ... ..                                                                                                                                              |          | 0 4 0½  |
| For every hundred weight of any sort of species of Irish glass not herein before enumerated or described, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |          | 2 2 0   |
| Bottles of common green glass, the dozen quarts ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 0 0 9    |         |
| HOPS.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hops, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |          | 0 0 1½  |
| LEATHER, unmanufactured.— For every pound weight avoirdupois of hides of what kind soever, and of calf skins, kips, hog skins, dog skins, and seal skins, tanned in Ireland, and of sheep skins and lamb skins, so tanned for gloves and bazils, which shall be imported in the whole hide or skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, ... .. |          | 0 0 1½  |
| For every dozen of goat skins tanned in Ireland, to resemble Spanish leather ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |          | 0 4 0   |
| For every dozen of sheep skins, tanned in Ireland, for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |          | 0 2 3   |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides or skins not herein before enumerated and described, and of all pieces and parts of hides or skins which shall be tanned in Ireland ... ..                                                                                                                                                                   |          | 0 0 6   |
| For all hides of horses, mares, and geldings, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                               |          | 0 1 6   |

## On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | CUSTOMS. | EXCISE. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | £ s. d.  | £ s. d. |
| For all hides of steers, cows, or any other hides of what kind soever, (those of horses, mares, and geldings excepted,) which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide                                  | 0 3 0    | 0 3 0   |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of all calf-skins, kips and veal-skins, which shall be so dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain in the whole skin, neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever    | 0 0 1½   | 0 0 1½  |
| For every dozen of slink calf-skins, which shall be so dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed with the hair on in Ireland                                                                                                                                | 0 3 0    | 0 3 0   |
| For every dozen of slink calf-skins, which shall be so dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed without hair in Ireland, and for every dozen of dog-skins, and kid-skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland | 0 1 0    | 0 1 0   |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of buck and doe-skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever                        | 0 0 6    | 0 0 6   |
| For every dozen of goat-skins and beaver-skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland                                                                                                                                         | 0 2 0    | 0 2 0   |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of sheep-skins and lamb-skins,                                                                                                                                                                                                        |          |         |

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| EXCISE. | ARTICLES.<br>CUSTOMS.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | CUSTOMS.<br>ARTICLES. | EXCISE. |    |    |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|----|----|
|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                       | £       | s. | d. |
|         | which shall be dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut or diminished in any respect whatever. ...                                                     |                       | 0       | 0  | 11 |
|         | For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins not hereinbefore enumerated and described, and of all pieces or parts of hides, or skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, ... |                       | 0       | 0  | 6  |
|         | For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck, deer, and elk skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, and imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, ...                                      |                       | 0       | 1  | 0  |
|         | For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, ...                                                                                                                                    |                       | 0       | 0  | 3  |
|         | For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, and parts and pieces of hides and skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, ...                                                                                         |                       | 0       | 0  | 6  |
|         | For every dozen of Irish vellum, ...                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                       | 0       | 3  | 5  |
|         | For every dozen of Irish parchment, ...                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                       | 0       | 1  | 8  |
|         | LEATHER, manufactured into goods and wares :—                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                       |         |    |    |
|         | For every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather manufactured, and actually made into goods and wares in Ireland, ..                                                                                                                        |                       | 0       | 0  | 11 |
|         | For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish-made boots and shoes, and gloves, and other manufactures made of tawed or dressed leather, ...                                                                                                      |                       | 0       | 0  | 1  |



*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | CUSTOMS. | EXCISE. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | £ s. d.  | £ s. d. |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins and elk skins dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Ireland, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                 |          |         |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                               |          |         |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins not herein before enumerated or described, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland ... ..                                                                                                                                                                    |          |         |
| MEAD OR METHEGLIN.—For every gallon English wine measure of Irish mead or metheglin ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |          |         |
| PAPER.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish paper fit or proper, or that may be used for, or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and of all Irish elephant papers and cartridge papers ... ..                                                                                               |          |         |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish, coloured papers, and whited brown papers (other than and except elephant and cartridge papers) fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being used for, or applied to the purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them ... .. |          |         |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish brown paper fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrap-                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |          |         |

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | CUSTOMS. | EXCISE.             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.             |
| ping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses and purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, ... ..                                                                                                                                                 | .....    | 0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For every pound weight, avoirdupois of every sort or kind of Irish paper not herein-before enumerated or described, sheathing and button-paper and button-board excepted, ... ..                                                                                                                                   | .....    | 0 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For every one hundred weight of Irish paste-board, mill-board, and scale-board ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | .....    | 0 10 6              |
| For every one hundred weight of Irish glazed papers for clothiers and hot-pressers, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | .....    | 0 6 0               |
| For every pound weight, avoirdupois of books bound or unbound, and of maps or prints which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, ... ..                                                                                                                                                      | .....    | 0 0 2               |
| <b>PRINTED GOODS.</b> —For every yard square of Irish printed, painted, or stained papers, to serve for hangings, or other uses ... ..                                                                                                                                                                             | .....    | 0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For every yard in length reckoning yard wide of foreign calicoes and foreign muslins, which shall be printed, painted, stained, or dyed, in Ireland (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour), over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of foreign calicoes and muslins, ... .. | .....    | 0 0 7               |
| For every yard in length reckoning yard wide of all Irish printed, painted, stained, or dyed Irish made calicoes, muslins, linens and stuffs, made either of cotton or linen mixed with other materials, fus-                                                                                                      | .....    | .....               |

## On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland

| ARTICLES                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | CUSTOMS                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | EXCISE                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | £ s. d.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | £ s. d.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| tians, velvets, velverets, dimities, and other figured stuffs, made of cotton and other materials, mixed or wholly made of cotton, wool (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only) ...                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Silk and ribbons of silk or silver thread, containing sixteen guineas, silk stockings, silk laces, and the band containing sixteen guineas ...                                                                            |
| For every yard in length reckoning yard wide of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed Irish made stuffs not before enumerated or described, (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only,) and except stuffs made of woollen, or whereof the greatest part in value shall be woollen ... | Silk manufactures of the kind enumerated or described, containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk and cotton, pound containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk mixed with cotton, the band containing sixteen guineas ... | Silk manufactures of the kind enumerated or described, containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk and cotton, pound containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk mixed with cotton, the band containing sixteen guineas ... |
| For every yard in length reckoning half yard wide of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silks (silk handkerchiefs excepted), over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of silk ...                                                                                               | Silk manufactures of the kind enumerated or described, containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk mixed with cotton, the band containing sixteen guineas ...                                                              | Silk manufactures of the kind enumerated or described, containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk mixed with cotton, the band containing sixteen guineas ...                                                              |
| For every yard square of Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silk handkerchiefs, and so in proportion for wide or narrow silk handkerchiefs, over and above every duty of customs payable on silk ...                                                                                                     | Silk manufactures of the kind enumerated or described, containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk mixed with cotton, the band containing sixteen guineas ...                                                              | Silk manufactures of the kind enumerated or described, containing sixteen guineas, stuffs of silk mixed with cotton, the band containing sixteen guineas ...                                                              |
| SALT.—For every bushel consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish salt or Irish glauber or Irish epsom salt ...                                                                                                                                                                                | SALT.—For every bushel consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish salt or Irish glauber or Irish epsom salt ...                                                                                           | SALT.—For every bushel consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish salt or Irish glauber or Irish epsom salt ...                                                                                           |
| For every bushel consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish rock salt ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | For every bushel consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish rock salt ...                                                                                                                                 | For every bushel consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish rock salt ...                                                                                                                                 |
| SILK.—Manufactures of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound containing sixteen ounces ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | SILK.—Manufactures of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound containing sixteen ounces ...                                                                                                                            | SILK.—Manufactures of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound containing sixteen ounces ...                                                                                                                            |
| NOTE.—Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape is to be deducted for gum and dress.                                                                                                                                                                                              | NOTE.—Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape is to be deducted for gum and dress.                                                                                                         | NOTE.—Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape is to be deducted for gum and dress.                                                                                                         |

## On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | CUSTOMS. | EXCISE. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | £ s. d.  | £ s. d. |
| Silk and ribbons of silk mixed with gold or silver, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                                                         | 0 8 8    | 0 8 8   |
| Silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching or sewing, silk, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                            | 0 3 0    | 0 3 0   |
| Silk, manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated or described, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                                               | 0 4 0    | 0 4 0   |
| Stuffs of silk and program yarn, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                                                                            | 0 1 2    | 0 1 2   |
| Stuffs of silk mixed with inkle or cotton, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                                                                  | 0 1 8    | 0 1 8   |
| Stuffs of silk and worsted, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                                                                                 | 0 6 10   | 0 6 10  |
| Stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound containing sixteen ounces                                                                                                                                               | 0 1 3    | 0 1 3   |
| SOAP.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hard cake or ball soap                                                                                                                                                        | 0 0 2    | 0 0 2   |
| For every pound weight of Irish soft soap                                                                                                                                                                                       | 0 0 0    | 0 0 0   |
| SPIRITS, BRITISH.—For every gallon English wine measure of spirits, <i>aqua vitæ</i> , or strong waters, which shall be distilled or made in Ireland, and imported at a strength not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof | 0 0 0    | 0 0 0   |

Note.—Spirits above the strength of one to ten will be charged in proportion, and on sweetened or compounded spirits the duty will be computed upon the highest degree of strength at which such spirits can be made.

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | CUSTOMS. |    |    | EXCISE. |    |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----|----|---------|----|----|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | £        | s. | d. | £       | s. | d. |
| STARCH.—For every pound weight of Irish starch, or hair powder, of what kind soever ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | .....    |    |    | 0       | 0  | 3½ |
| SUGARS—refined, viz., called bastards, whole or ground, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 0        | 18 | 2  |         |    |    |
| Lumps, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 1        | 14 | 0½ |         |    |    |
| Single loaf, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 1        | 16 | 4  |         |    |    |
| Powder loaf, and double loaf, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1        | 19 | 1  |         |    |    |
| Sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1        | 14 | 0½ |         |    |    |
| Sugar candy, white, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1        | 19 | 1  |         |    |    |
| Sugar, refined, of any other sort, the hundred weight ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 1        | 19 | 1  |         |    |    |
| SWEETS.—For every barrel, consisting of thirty-one gallons and a half, English wine measure, of Irish sweets or other Irish liquor, made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other materials or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called sweets, or called or distinguished by the name of made wines ... .. | .....    |    |    | 2       | 2  | 0  |
| TOBACCO AND SNUFF.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Ireland, over and above any duty of customs ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                             | .....    |    |    |         |    |    |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                     | .....    |    |    | 0       | 1  | 7  |

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                  | CUSTOMS. |       | EXCISE. |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|---------|--------|
|                                                                                                                                                            | £        | s. d. | £       | s. d.  |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured shag tobacco ... ..                                                                               | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7 5½ |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured roll tobacco ... ..                                                                               | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7    |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured carrot tobacco ... ..                                                                             | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7 5½ |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort of Irish manufactured tobacco, not herein before enumerated or described ... ..                     | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7    |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured rappee snuff ... ..                                                                               | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7 4½ |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured Scotch snuff ... ..                                                                               | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7 6½ |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured brown Scotch snuff ... ..                                                                         | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 7 3½ |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured tobacco stalk flour ... ..                                                                        | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 9    |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort or kind of Irish manufactured snuff, or snuff work not herein before enumerated or described ... .. | 0        | 0 6   | 0       | 1 10½  |
| Tobacco, unmanufactured, the pound                                                                                                                         | 0        | 0 6   |         |        |
| VERJUICE.—For every hogshead consisting of sixty-three gallons, English wine measure, of Irish verjuice ... ..                                             | 0        | 0 7   | 0       | 7 8    |
| VINEGAR.—For every barrel consisting of thirty-four gallons, English beer measure, of Irish vinegar ... ..                                                 | 0        | 0 12  | 0       | 12 8½  |
| WIRE.—For every ounce Troy weight of Irish gilt wire ... ..                                                                                                | 0        | 0 0   | 0       | 0 9½   |

**SCHEDULE, NO. I.—A.**

**On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.**

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                   | CUSTOMS.                                                                                                                                                                 | EXCISE. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                          | £ s. d. |
| For every ounce Troy of Irish silver wire                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                          | 7 0 0   |
| For every pound weight of avoirdupois of Irish gold thread, gold lace, or gold fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk    |                                                                                                                                                                          | 0 7 0   |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish silver thread, silver lace, or silver fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk |                                                                                                                                                                          | 0 5 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | BEER                                                                                                                                                                     |         |
|                                                                                                                             | for and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons imported from Great Britain                                                                                      | 0 4 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | GLASS BOTTLES                                                                                                                                                            |         |
|                                                                                                                             | for and upon each reputed quart                                                                                                                                          | 0 0 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | LEATHER, unmanufactured                                                                                                                                                  |         |
|                                                                                                                             | or and upon each pound in every hide or skin or piece of any such hide or skin of what kind or denomination other than such as are therein after mentioned and described | 0 0 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | and upon each hide of horses, mares or geldings                                                                                                                          | 0 1 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | and upon all skins called veal skins and all skins of dogs and cats (except skins thereof) after the same rate for any greater or less quantity                          | 0 0 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | and upon all skins of sheep and other like poses and all skins of every dozen                                                                                            | 0 2 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | and upon all skins of a bookbinders' use for y goods or more after the same rate for any greater or less quantity                                                        | 0 1 0   |
|                                                                                                                             | if upon any skins named with the mark hereon or bearing the name leather and kept in a barrel or cask, before after the rate of the leather for every pound              | 0 0 0   |

## On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.

| EXCISE.             | CUSTOMS. | ARTICLES. |
|---------------------|----------|-----------|
| SCHEDULE, NO. I.—B. |          |           |
| 1                   | 2        | 3         |
| 4                   | 5        | 6         |
| 7                   | 8        | 9         |
| 10                  | 11       | 12        |
| 13                  | 14       | 15        |
| 16                  | 17       | 18        |
| 19                  | 20       | 21        |
| 22                  | 23       | 24        |
| 25                  | 26       | 27        |
| 28                  | 29       | 30        |
| 31                  | 32       | 33        |
| 34                  | 35       | 36        |
| 37                  | 38       | 39        |
| 40                  | 41       | 42        |
| 43                  | 44       | 45        |
| 46                  | 47       | 48        |
| 49                  | 50       | 51        |
| 52                  | 53       | 54        |
| 55                  | 56       | 57        |
| 58                  | 59       | 60        |
| 61                  | 62       | 63        |
| 64                  | 65       | 66        |
| 67                  | 68       | 69        |
| 70                  | 71       | 72        |
| 73                  | 74       | 75        |
| 76                  | 77       | 78        |
| 79                  | 80       | 81        |
| 82                  | 83       | 84        |
| 85                  | 86       | 87        |
| 88                  | 89       | 90        |
| 91                  | 92       | 93        |
| 94                  | 95       | 96        |
| 97                  | 98       | 99        |
| 100                 | 101      | 102       |

## BEER.

For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons imported from Great Britain ... 0 4 6

## GLASS BOTTLES.

For and upon each reputed quart ... 0 0 0½

## LEATHER, unmanufactured.

For and upon each pound in every hide or skin or piece of any such hide or skin, of what kind or denomination soever, other than such as are herein after mentioned and described ... 0 0 1

For and upon each hide of horses, mares, or geldings ... 0 1 0

For and upon all skins called veal skins, and all skins of hogs, for every dozen skins thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity ... 0 5 0

For and upon all skins for shoes and other like purposes, and all seal skins, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity ... 0 2 6

For and upon all skins for bookbinders' use, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity ... 0 1 0

For and upon all goat skins tanned with shumack or otherwise to resemble Spanish leather, and all sheep skins tanned for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, for every pound weight avoirdupois ... 0 0 1



*On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                               | £ s. d. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| For and upon all sheep and lamb skins tanned for gloves and basils, for every pound weight avoirdupois, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity                                           | 0 0 10  |
| <b>LEATHER dressed in Oil.</b>                                                                                                                                                                          |         |
| For and upon every hide and skin, and piece of such hide and skin, other than such as are hereinafter mentioned or described, for every pound weight avoirdupois                                        | 0 0 2   |
| For and upon all deer-skins, goat-skins, and beaver-skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois                                                                                                   | 0 0 3   |
| For and upon all calf-skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois                                                                                                                                 | 0 0 2   |
| For and upon all sheep and lamb-skins, for every pound weight avoirdupois                                                                                                                               | 0 0 1½  |
| <b>VELLUM and PARCHMENT.</b>                                                                                                                                                                            |         |
| For and upon every dozen skins of vellum                                                                                                                                                                | 0 0 10  |
| For and upon every dozen skins of parchment                                                                                                                                                             | 0 0 10  |
| <b>LEATHER manufactured into Goods and Wares.</b>                                                                                                                                                       |         |
| For and upon all tanned leather manufactured into goods and wares, whereof leather is the most valuable part, the following duties, viz.:                                                               |         |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured, and actually made into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part | 0 0 10  |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tawed or dressed leather, manufactured, and actually made in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part            | 0 0 10  |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck, and deer-skins, and elk-skins, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in                                                        | 0 0 10  |

*On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | IMPORTED | £ s. d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |          | 0 0 3   |
| <b>LEATHER</b> , manufactured into goods and wares.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |          |         |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares, in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part                                                                                                                                                         |          | 0 0 0½  |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares, in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part                                                                                                            |          | 0 0 2   |
| <b>PAPER.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |          |         |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of paper fit or proper for, or that may be used for, or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and all elephant paper, and all cartridge paper.                                                                                                                                  |          | 0 0 12½ |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of all coloured paper, and white papers, other than and except elephant and cartridge paper, fit or proper for the uses or purposes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being used for, or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and also except paper hangings. |          | 0 0 1   |
| For every pound weight avoirdupois of brown paper fit and proper for the use or purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being used for, or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them.                                                                                                                 |          | 0 0 0½  |
| For and upon every one hundred weight of glazed paper for clothiers and hot-pressers, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |          | 0 5 0   |

*On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|---|----|----|
| For and upon every one hundred weight of paste-board, millboard, and scaleboard, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity,                                                                                                                              |  | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| For and upon every pound weight of every sort or kind of paper, not herein before particularly enumerated or described, other than and except papers commonly called and known by the names of sheathing paper and button paper, or button board and paper hangings, |  | 0 | 0  | 2½ |
| <b>STAINED PAPER.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |   |    |    |
| For and upon every square yard of printed, painted, or stained paper for hangings or other uses, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity,                                                                                                              |  | 0 | 0  | 1  |
| For and upon every pound weight of airoirdupois of books bound or unbound, and of maps or prints which shall be imported into Ireland from Great Britain,                                                                                                            |  | 0 | 0  | 2  |
| <b>CARDS.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |  |   |    |    |
| For and upon every pack of printed, painted, or playing cards made or manufactured in Great Britain,                                                                                                                                                                 |  | 0 | 1  | 3  |
| And a further duty of 2½d. per pound weight.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |  |   |    |    |
| <b>DICE.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |  |   |    |    |
| For and upon every pair of dice made or manufactured in Great Britain,                                                                                                                                                                                               |  | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| <b>WROUGHT PLATE.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |   |    |    |
| For and upon every ounce Troy weight of gold or silver plate which shall be wrought, made, or manufactured in Great Britain, and imported into Ireland,                                                                                                              |  | 0 | 0  | 6  |
| <b>SILK MANUFACTURE.</b> —For and upon all silks being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, viz.                                                                                                            |  |   |    |    |

*On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

| ARTICLES. <small>REJOINTA</small>                                                                                                                         |  | £ s. d. |    |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|---------|----|-----|
| For and upon all ribbons and stuffs of silk only, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces                                                |  | 0       | 2  | 1   |
| For and upon all silk and ribbons of silk mixed with gold or silver, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces                             |  | 0       | 2  | 9   |
| For and upon all silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk lace, stitching and sewing silk, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces |  | 0       | 1  | 3   |
| For and upon all manufactures of silk not otherwise enumerated or described, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces                     |  | 0       | 1  | 8   |
| For and upon all stuffs of silk and program yarn, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces                                                              |  | 0       | 0  | 6   |
| For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with incl or cotton, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces                                                     |  | 0       | 1  | 9   |
| For and upon all stuffs of silk and worsted mixed, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces                                                             |  | 0       | 0  | 4   |
| For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces                                                 |  | 0       | 0  | 6½  |
| <b>SPIRITS.</b> —For and upon every gallon of spirits being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence, a duty of                      |  | 0       | 3  | 7   |
| <b>SUGAR.</b> —Refined, of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, viz.—                               |  |         |    |     |
| For and upon all sugar called bastards, white or ground, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds                                                        |  | 0       | 19 | 8   |
| For and upon all sugar called lumps, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds                                                                            |  | 1       | 16 | 10½ |
| For and upon all sugar called single loaf sugar, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds,                                                               |  | 1       | 19 | 4   |
| For and upon all sugar called powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds                                                      |  | 2       | 2  | 4   |
| 2 c                                                                                                                                                       |  |         |    |     |

*(on Importation into Ireland from Great Britain)*

| ARTICLES.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | £ s. d.               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| For and upon every cwt. of sugar called sugar candy, in hundred weight containing 112 pounds ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 1 16 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For and upon every cwt. of sugar called sugar candy, in hundred weight containing 112 pounds ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 2 2 4                 |
| For and upon every cwt. of sugar refined of any other sort, in hundred weight containing 112 pounds ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 2 2 4                 |
| For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons of mead or metheglin, or any other liquor made by infusion or otherwise, from fruit or herbs, or from fruit and sugar mixed with any other material or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called mead or metheglin, or called or distinguished by the name of mead or metheglin ... | 0 10 0                |
| For and upon every gallon of mead or metheglin, or any other liquor made by infusion or otherwise, from fruit or herbs, or from fruit and sugar mixed with any other material or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called mead or metheglin, or called or distinguished by the name of mead or metheglin ...                               | 0 0 4                 |
| For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons of wine ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 0 3 0                 |
| <b>Tobacco and Snuff.</b> —For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco of the growth or produce of Great Britain, over and above any duty of customs now payable ...                                                                                                                                            |                       |
| For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured in what is commonly called and known by the name of Spanish ...                                                                                                                                                                        | 0 0 5                 |
| For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured long tobacco cut ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 0 1 0 $\frac{7}{10}$  |
| For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured short tobacco cut ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 0 0 11                |
| For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured roll tobacco ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 0 1 0 $\frac{7}{10}$  |
| For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured cut tobacco ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0 0 11                |
| For and upon every pound weight of every other sort of British manufactured tobacco not herein before enumerated or described ...                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 0 1 0 $\frac{7}{10}$  |
| For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of British manufactured rappee snuff ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 0 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  |

*On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

|  | ARTICLES.                                           | RELIGIOUS |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
|  |                                                     | £ s. d.   |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured snuff, called Scotch snuff                 | 0 1 4     |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured snuff, called brown Scotch snuff           | 0 0 9½    |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured stalk flower                               | 0 1 3     |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of every other      |           |
|  | sort or kind of British manufactured snuff or       |           |
|  | snuff-work not herein before enumerated or          |           |
|  | described                                           | 0 1 4     |
|  | SWEETS—For and upon every pound weight of           |           |
|  | British manufactured sweets, called Scotch sweets   |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured sweets, called brown Scotch sweets         |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured stalk flower                               |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of every other      |           |
|  | sort or kind of British manufactured snuff or       |           |
|  | snuff-work not herein before enumerated or          |           |
|  | described                                           | 0 1 4     |
|  | Tobacco—For and upon every pound weight of          |           |
|  | British manufactured tobacco, called Scotch tobacco |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured tobacco, called brown Scotch tobacco       |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured stalk flower                               |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of every other      |           |
|  | sort or kind of British manufactured snuff or       |           |
|  | snuff-work not herein before enumerated or          |           |
|  | described                                           | 0 1 4     |
|  | Tobacco—For and upon every pound weight of          |           |
|  | British manufactured tobacco, called Scotch tobacco |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured tobacco, called brown Scotch tobacco       |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of British manu-    |           |
|  | factured stalk flower                               |           |
|  | For and upon every pound weight of every other      |           |
|  | sort or kind of British manufactured snuff or       |           |
|  | snuff-work not herein before enumerated or          |           |
|  | described                                           | 0 1 4     |



# COPY OF LORDS' PROTEST,

26th MARCH, 1800.

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## DISSENTIENT,

*First*—Because that in the present awful state of affairs, Protest.  
when the most unremitting industry is made use of to unhinge every established government in Europe—when revolutionary principles have produced the overthrow of several ancient established governments, we think every loyal subject, who regards the liberties of his country, called upon to rally round the constitution and to preserve its stability. We, therefore, cannot help protesting against the rashness of the minister, who in such times hazards the experiment of annihilating that constitution, which has for so many ages maintained the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, and of substituting in its stead, in opposition to the general voice of the nation, a new system, totally subversive of every fundamental principle of that constitution, which we consider as the best security for those liberties which the subjects of Ireland now enjoy.

*Second*—Because however willing we now are, and always have been, to contribute in proportion to our means to the support and defence of the empire, we hold it our bounden duty, before that we shall irrevocably enter into any engagement to take upon ourselves any particular proportion of the expenses of the empire, to ascertain the probable amount of such proportion, to enquire into the ability of Ireland to discharge the same, and to examine whether such part be proportionate to the relative abilities of the two nations. Upon such enquiry, we find that the expense incurred by Great Britain in the year 1799, amounted to upwards of thirty-two millions, and that which was incurred by Ireland in the said year amounted to upwards of six millions, 2-17ths of which sums (the proposed



proportion) amount to upwards of 4,400,000*l.*, which sum, added to the present interest of the debt incurred by Ireland, and the discharge of her annuities, amounting to 1,400,000*l.*, and the interest of the loan of this year, amounting to about 250,000*l.* will make the annual charge upon Ireland amount to 6,050,000*l.* It appears to us that the produce of our revenue, including the estimated amount of the taxes laid on this session, do not exceed 2,800,000*l.* and consequently they will fall short by 3,250,000*l.* of the sum necessary to discharge such proportionate part of the expenses of the empire. In order to ascertain the relative abilities of the two nations, their respective balances of trade with the whole world have been compared, and it appears from thence, that such balance in favour of Great Britain amounts to the sum of 14,800,000*l.* and that such balance in favour of Ireland, according to the returns laid before this house, amount to the sum of 599,312*l.*; taking therefore the balance of trade as a criterion of ability, the proportion would be *as twenty-nine to one*. Enquiry likewise having been made into the current cash in circulation in both kingdoms, it appears that in the year 1777 the current cash in Great Britain was calculated at 43,000,950*l.*, and it is computed by persons the best informed upon that subject in this kingdom, that the current cash in Ireland may now amount to between 3,000,000*l.* and 3,500,000*l.*; taking it therefore, at the latter, the proportion should be at *twelve to one*. Considering it in another very essential point of view, the influx and efflux of money into the respective kingdoms, it appears that Great Britain receives, by remittances to persons having property in the East and West Indies who reside in Great Britain, 4,000,000*l.* sterling. We do not know of any influx of money into Ireland, save that of 509,312*l.* the balance of her trade; and it appears to us that she annually remits to Great Britain, on account of her debts, the sum of 720,000*l.* and on account of the pay of 3,234 men serving in Great Britain, the sum of 101,570*l.* These annual drains, together with the remittances to absentees, (probably little short of 2,000,000*l.*) we consider to have occasioned the high rate of exchange with Great Britain during the last twelve months, from 3 to 5 per cent. above par, notwithstanding that during that period 3,000,000*l.* have been borrowed in Great Britain and remitted to Ireland. We do not know of any fund to resort to for raising the said deficiency of 3,250,000*l.* save by taxation, an addition to which cannot, in any considerable degree, be supported; and by resorting to her landed property, the gross contents of which being but eleven million plantation acres, we cannot estimate at more than the annual rent of 5,500,000*l.* We observe that the large sums of money borrowed by Ireland within these four years, have been for the

most part raised in Great Britain, owing to the total disability of procuring them in Ireland. The facility of raising money in Great Britain, and the difficulty found in raising any in Ireland, clearly demonstrates the opulence of the one nation, and the poverty of the other. Under such circumstances it appears to us, that if this kingdom should take upon herself irrevocably the payment of 2-17ths of such expenses, she will not *have means to perform her engagement*, unless by charging her landed property with 12 or 13 shillings in the pound. It must end in the draining from her her last guinea—in totally annihilating her trade, for want of capital—in rendering the taxes unproductive—and, consequently, in finally putting her into a state of bankruptcy. We think ourselves called upon to protest against a measure so ruinous to this country, and to place the responsibility for its consequences upon such persons as have brought it forward and supported it.

For these reasons, and believing the above statement to be accurate, we thus record our dissent.

3rd—For these, and many other reasons too tedious and too obvious to be here dwelt upon, we have deemed it our bounden duty, both to ourselves and to our descendants, thus publicly to declare our dissent from those resolutions approving of the measure of a legislative Union, which have passed this house, calling on our latest posterity to entreat that, in virtue of this our solemn declaration, they will acquit us of having been in anywise instrumental to their degradation, and to the ruin of that country which they may hereafter inhabit.

LEINSTER.

DOWNSHIRE.

MEATH.

GRANARD.

LUDLOW, by proxy.

MOIRA, by proxy.

ARRAN.

CHARLEMONT.

MOUNTCASHEL.

FARNHAM.

DILLON.

STRANGFORD.

POWERSCOURT.

DE VESCI, by proxy.

WM. DOWN & CONNOR.

RD. WATERFORD & LISMORE.

LOUTH.

MASSY, by proxy.

RIVERSDALE, by proxy.

SUNDERLIN, for the first reason.

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J. BROWNE, PRINTER, 36, NASSAU-STREET, DUBLIN.

